

**JEWISH LIFE IN
MODERN TIMES:
WITH TWELVE
ILLUSTRATIONS
AND A MAP**

Israel Cohen



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JEWISH LIFE IN MODERN TIMES

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EXILES
FROM THE PAINTING BY SAMUEL HIRSZENBERG

JEWISH LIFE IN MODERN TIMES

BY
ISRAEL COHEN

WITH TWELVE ILLUSTRATIONS AND A MAP

NEW YORK
DODD, MEAD AND COMPANY
1911



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TO
MY PARENTS

PREFACE

✓ **T**HE purpose of this volume is to give a comprehensive account of the conditions of modern Jewry in all their principal manifestations and variations throughout the world. The book was begun some years ago, but its completion has been delayed until now by the exacting demands of other professional work. The delay has not been altogether without advantage, as it has enabled me, during a residence of four years in Germany and visits to other parts of the Continent, to come into closer contact with various aspects of life that I set out to depict, as well as to include some tendencies and developments that are of quite recent origin. The interval that has elapsed since the first chapter was written has witnessed the appearance of several works dealing with Jewish conditions, but each of them has been mainly concerned with only one aspect of Jewish life and approached its study from a special angle of vision. None of them presents a picture of Jewish life as it is, with all its traditional characteristics and customs, its sufferings and its achievements, its foibles and its ideals, and yet without such a portrayal of actual conditions it is scarcely possible fully to appreciate the significance of tendencies and movements that play a leading part in the world of Jewry to-day. One may study the variety of anthropological types among the modern children of Israel, their racial origin and cultural value, their contribution to the advancement of modern commerce, and the processes by

which their disintegration as a people is taking place. But unless one is acquainted with the essence of Jewish life, with its primal contents and fundamental bases, one cannot understand the changes that are being wrought in its forms or perceive their significance; unless one realizes the manifold diversity that distinguishes Jews in regard to political status, economic welfare, and intellectual activity in different lands, and in regard to religious outlook even in the same land, one must fail to appraise local or transitory phenomena at their true worth and likewise to grasp the pregnant import of a movement of world-wide compass.

✓ The purpose of this volume is, therefore, in the first place, to depict the variegated life of the Jewish people at the present day in all its intimacy and intensity, and secondly, to trace the evolution that is being produced by modern forces, or, in other words, to describe the static conditions of Jewry and then to analyse the effects of the dynamic forces to which they are exposed. The widest possible purview has been taken: the whole crowded map of Jewish life has been unfolded, surveyed, and described, with the help of such elucidations from history as are necessary to understand the present situation. First, a General Survey is presented, showing the dispersion and distribution of Jewry in its countless manifestations, its diversity of composition in political and spiritual respects, and the solidarity that unifies its disparate elements. Then follow five main sections, in each of which a leading aspect of life is investigated—the social, the political, the economic, the intellectual, and the religious. Under the Social Aspect are set forth the growth and constitution of the community, the characteristics and customs of the home, social life and amenities, morality and philanthropy, and racial and physical conditions. Under the Political Aspect are

related how one-half of the people acquired civil equality, how the other half is still suffering in bondage, and what services Israel has rendered to so many countries both in their government and their defence. Under the Economic Aspect are reviewed the different spheres of commercial, industrial, and professional activity in which Jews are engaged, the contrasts of material welfare and predominance of poverty, and the ceaseless currents of migration from the lands of bondage to the havens of refuge. Under the Intellectual Aspect are considered the advance made by secular education among the Jews, the nature of their national intellectual products in modern times, and the contributions they have rendered to the progress and culture of humanity. Under the Religious Aspect are described their ecclesiastical organization and administration, their traditional faith and observance and the growing divergences therefrom, and then the drift and apostasy that are assuming ever more alarming proportions. Finally, the resultant tendency of all the foregoing manifestations is examined under the National Aspect, the strength of the forces of assimilation and absorption is contrasted with the inherent force of conservation, and the realization of the Zionist ideal is urged as the most effective means of ensuring the perpetuation of Israel.

A certain amount of overlapping has been inevitable in the composition of this book owing to the peculiar complexity of Jewish life, but an endeavour has been made to restrict this duplication to the minimum. It has been found impossible to include all the innumerable phases and phenomena of the modern Jewish dispersion, nor would the restricted compass of this volume have permitted such an exhaustive and detailed record ; but I believe that I have brought within the covers of a single book the fullest description yet attempted of all the main aspects

and problems of Jewish life at the present day. References are given in footnotes to the more important sources that have been consulted, of which the *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden* and the other publications of the Berlin Bureau for Jewish Statistics deserve a special meed of acknowledgment, as without them the collation of the latest vital statistics of Jews in different countries would have involved considerable labour. Although I cannot claim any personal experience of American conditions, I have studied the development of Jewish life in the New World in American books and newspapers for the last fourteen years and owe many items of information to the kindness of Mr. Bernard G. Richards, the Secretary of the New York Jewish Community, which I gladly acknowledge here.

The illustrations, with one exception, consist of reproductions from the works of eminent Jewish artists, who, through different media, have depicted various phases of Jewish life in modern times. The one exception has been made in favour of a photograph of the Bezalel School in Jerusalem, which symbolizes the new spirit that has come over the Holy Land. The diagram and map illustrating respectively the distribution and density of the world's Jewish population have been prepared upon the basis of my figures and suggestions by Herr Davis Trietsch, of Berlin.

In conclusion, I wish to express my cordial thanks to the Rev. S. Levy, M.A., for the scrupulous care he has bestowed upon the reading of the proofs and for many valuable suggestions.

I. C.

August 1914

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"ONE PEOPLE ARISETH, ANOTHER DISAPPEARETH,
BUT ISRAEL ENDURETH FOR EVER."

MIDRASH ON PSALM XXXVI

JEWISH LIFE IN MODERN TIMES

BOOK I

A GENERAL SURVEY

INTRODUCTION

The complexity of Jewish life—The dispersion of Jewry—The cause of dispersion—The diversity of Jewry—Its solidarity—Three main aspects to be examined

MODERN Jewry presents so many aspects of competing interest that in attempting a comprehensive survey of its life and labour one is faced by the difficulty of fixing upon a convenient point of departure. Its social life is moulded by religious observance and diversified by political forces ; its economic conditions are fashioned by historic development and likewise affected by political *milieu* ; its intellectual products bear the impress of racial characteristics and national experiences ; and its spiritual tendencies are governed not only by faith and tradition but also by the sure and subtle influence of social, political, and intellectual developments ; whilst the alluring riddle of the future of the Jew—popularly styled “ the Jewish question ”—can only be solved, if solved at all, by a careful study of all these spheres of life and labour. But these various spheres are so closely intertwined with one another that it is difficult to investigate any one in strict isolation, and yet an orderly inquiry demands their separate treatment. We shall be in a better position, however, to embark upon a detailed investigation of each sphere and to

address ourselves to the question of the future if we previously make a general survey of the vast and variegated world of Jewry, noting its main and most distinctive characteristics.

✓ The first impression conveyed by our domain is the extensive dispersion of its inhabitants, reaching from one end of the globe to the other. Numerous as the Jewish communities are in Eastern Europe, numerous as they also are in North America, neither one region nor the other must eclipse from our sight the existence of countless other colonies in all parts of the world. In every country of Europe, in North and South Africa, in most of the countries in Asia from Palestine to Japan, in most of the populous centres of Australasia, and in many of the newly developed states in South America, there are communities, in compact masses or meagre clusters, which still preserve in varying degree a life distinct from that which surrounds them—treasuring the laws of Mount Sinai and hallowing the customs of ancient Judæa. In the swarming Ghetti of Poland, where piety, pathos, and poverty commingle; in the fashionable suburbs of Paris and New York, Vienna and London, redolent of wealth and culture, in the ancient cities of Jerusalem and Damascus, Rome and Alexandria, and in the modern cities of Johannesburg and Buenos Ayres, Montreal and Melbourne; on the banks of the Rhine, the Ganges, and the Missouri, and beneath the mountain ranges of the Andes, the Alps, and the Himalayas; in the steppes of Siberia, the cave-dwellings of Tripoli, and the backwoods of Australia, in the mining camps of the Transvaal and the prairies of the Argentine; in all these diverse centres of civilization, old and new, great and small, refined and rude, scattered promiscuously over the face of the earth, the prayers of "the chosen people" are still uttered in the language of the Psalms, and the memory of the ancestral deeds of glory and martyrdom is cherished with pride and celebrated with the rites of hoary tradition.

✓ The principal cause of this dispersion, which has now attained greater dimensions than at any previous period, has been persecution. The banishment of the Jews from

their own or their adopted home was the cause of their wanderings in ancient and mediæval times ; and political oppression in various forms is the chief motor force in their migrations at the present day. In point of numbers their migration in modern times, particularly during the last thirty years, far exceeds that of their previous history, and it is attended by a tragedy not less poignant, if less violent, than that which marked a mediæval expulsion. In former times the tide of migration flowed from west to east ; in our days it flows from east to west. The spirit of enterprise and adventure, which is chiefly responsible for the dispersion of modern nations and the founding of their colonies, has manifested itself only in a minor degree in the annals of Israel. Occasionally it has combined with the force of persecution in directing the footsteps of the Jew away from those lands of liberty, England and the United States, most invaded by his oppressed co-religionists, to remoter havens of refuge in Argentina, South Africa, and Australasia. But the spirit of enterprise, as the sole stimulus of migration, has operated only among those who have long been settled in Western countries and who have been prompted by economic motives to try their fortunes in new and distant lands.

Vast as is our domain, it is utterly lacking in homogeneity. To the outward eye all Jews are alike, if not exactly in physical appearance yet by virtue of an indefinable racial trait, pervasive yet elusive. In reality, however, they are marked by a number of differences that sharply divide them into distinct classes. They are differences not merely of social and political status, nor of religious ritual and conformity, nor of spiritual tendency and intellectual outlook, nor of communal organization, nor of the appearance of the individual type, nor of assimilation to environment. The diversity is not confined to any one of these spheres or factors : it prevails in each and every one, and in combinations of all, in varying degrees. The resultant types baffle enumeration, and their number and complexity are increasing from year to year in proportion to the advance of emigration, education, emancipation, and assimilation. The chief line of division, roughly

separating the Jews of the East from those of the West, may be drawn in a semicircle across the map of Europe, with Libau and Tangier as the extremities of the diameter. The Jews of the East, living mostly in lands of oppression and primitive development, are distinguished by their religious and intellectual conservatism; the Jews of the West, including those of the Southern Hemisphere, enjoy varying degrees of political liberty and display different degrees of religious and intellectual liberalism. In addition to these broad differences there is a diversity of attitude towards nationalist aspirations, and as each country is not only differentiated in many respects from other countries but also has its own quota of peculiar types, it is manifest enough that modern Jewry is not a homogeneous organism but an elaborately differentiated society, composed of disparate types and animated by conflicting tendencies.

But despite this dispersion and diversity there is a bond of union. It is the racial sentiment, born of the consciousness of a common origin, a common history, and common sufferings. However acute the divisions may be on the merits of orthodoxy, or on the virtue of the Zionist ideal, they are levelled by the influence of the past which generates a spirit of solidarity, welding the disparate units into a harmonious whole. The racial consciousness is keenest in the religious Jew, but long after the prayers and rites of the Synagogue have ceased to make an appeal it still survives and can even be transmitted for a generation or two. In abnormal times, such as the outbreak of a massacre in Russia or of a riot in an Eastern country, it is evinced in the speedy dispatch of aid to the sufferers and in its prompt invocation of Government intervention. Scattered among all the lands of the earth, without a political centre or spiritual overlord, the Jews are united by a bond of racial solidarity which is tested and strengthened in times of need.

Modern Jewish life thus presents three main features: extensive dispersion, diversity of composition, and solidarity. Each of these features will now be examined more fully.

CHAPTER I

DISPERSION AND DISTRIBUTION

Number of Jews in the world and in each continent—Apparent multitude and real paucity in each country—The centre of gravity of Jewry — The Russian Pale — Austria-Hungary, particularly Galicia — Germany, Turkey, Rumania, the British Isles, and the rest of Europe—Asiatic countries—Communities in Africa—The Jews in America—The greatest Jewish city—Settlements in Australasia

THE total number of Jews in the world at the present day amounts approximately to 13,500,000.¹ This is the highest figure that they have ever reached in their history, and yet it forms only about a hundred and twentieth of the entire population of the globe. Their numbers are thus out of all proportion to their prominence and significance on the stage of the world. Although Asiatic by origin, with a continuous history of three thousand years on Asiatic soil, they are mostly concentrated in Europe, whither they gravitated after the downfall of Judæa in 70 C.E. In this continent they number 10,068,435, three-fourths of the total Jewish population, whilst in Asia they number only 525,658. Thus, in the continent which gave them birth and which witnessed the first and highest efflorescence of their genius, the Jews are now represented by less than a twenty-fifth of their total number. In the New World, which Columbus discovered with their material aid in the year in which they were expelled from Spain, there are 2,495,805, all of whom, save about 200,000, are inhabitants of the United States. In Africa there are 414,246, and in Australasia 19,415.

The most notable feature in their distribution over the

¹ See Appendix I, "Jewish Population Statistics."

✓ earth's surface is the unevenness of density. In some regions there are compact and congested communities which seem wholly composed of Jews ; in others the appearance of a Jew is sufficiently rare to be a curiosity. This phenomenon is not confined to any particular continent ; it is characteristic of nearly every country in the world. The gregariousness of the Jews, apart from historical and psychological considerations, has given them a position of prominence on the stage of the world far exceeding that proportionate to their numbers. For even in the countries in which their numbers are highest, Russia and Austria-Hungary, they form less than five per cent of the total population ; but their residence is mostly confined to a comparatively small part of either country, where political and industrial life is most vigorous, and where public opinion is keenest, and hence their compact solidity in these busy, pulsating centres conveys an impression of numerical magnitude which is utterly belied by their real paucity. In Western Europe too, and in the United States, the Jewish population bears an even smaller proportion to the general population, varying from a quarter to three per cent ; but here likewise it is largely confined to the capitals and the great cities, whose local problems bulk upon the national horizon to an inordinate extent, and whose Jewish inhabitants seem to those who mould public opinion to reflect a similar populousness throughout the country. In addition to this physical crowding into the main centres of national life there are special circumstances that make the Jews seem far more numerous than they really are, namely, the inevitable prominence of a different racial type, and their participation and success in callings, such as the law, politics, the stage, the press, and the stock exchange, which enjoy an undue measure of public attention.

The centre of gravity of modern Jewry is in the Russian Pale of Settlement, which contains six million Jews. This region is situated between the Baltic Provinces and the shores of the Black Sea ; it comprises the ten provinces of the Kingdom of Poland and fifteen provinces of Lithuania, White Russia, South-Western and Southern Russia ; and it

has an area of 362,000 square miles, which is equal to three times the size of the United Kingdom. As constituted to-day the Pale was established in 1835 ; it is an expansion of a smaller region that was delimited in 1769 for the restricted residence of the Jews ; while the policy of isolation which it embodies was first put into practice by the Muscovite Government in the sixteenth century. The history of the Jews in this country, however, goes back to the earliest times. According to Armenian and Gregorian historians, they were deported by Nebuchadnezzar to Armenia and the Caucasus after the destruction of the first Temple, in 586 B.C. ; and their influence in the eighth century was sufficiently evidenced by the conversion to Judaism of the kingdom of the Chazars, a people inhabiting the region of the lower Don, the Vistula, and the Dnieper, whose independence lasted until 969 A.D. Until the last quarter of the eighteenth century their numbers were comparatively few. The great mass of them came under the sway of the Tsar in consequence of the partition of Poland, whither they had fled for refuge in the Middle Ages from the chronic outbreaks of persecution in Western Europe, and where they had pursued their lives in peace, with little interruption, and even with a measure of communal autonomy. The change of ruler exposed them to the very dangers which had made their forefathers settle in Poland, but the disturbed conditions of the time, combined with memories of the past and hopes for a brighter future, prevented any wholesale migration back to the Western countries. Thus, the dismemberment of Poland in 1795 placed half of the Jewish race under Russian dominion, and there it has remained unto the present day.

The total number of Jews in the Russian Empire, according to the latest estimates (1905), was 6,122,127, which represents a percentage of only 4·6 of the total population. By far the greatest number, 93·9 per cent, live in the Pale, which occupies only a fifth of European Russia and a twenty-fifth of All the Russias. The remainder, who are privileged to live outside it, consisting mainly of merchants of the first guild, members of professions, and master artisans, number less than half a million, which is an

insignificant proportion (·037 per cent) of the general population. But although the preponderating mass of Russian Jews live in the Pale, they form only 11·6 per cent—less than a ninth—of the entire population of that region. This proportion, however, affords no exact indication of the real conditions, as more than five out of the six millions are concentrated in cities and towns, in consequence of laws passed in 1882 and 1891 against the further settlement of Jews in rural districts. The congestion is thickest in the six north-western provinces, in which they form nearly 60 per cent of the urban population; whilst even in the least congested districts, in Southern Russia, they represent a percentage of 28·2. Berditchev, which has a Jewish population of 47,000 in a total of 53,000, a percentage of 87, enjoys the distinction of being the most Jewish town in the world. There are 48 towns with more than 10,000 Jewish inhabitants,¹ of which only five are outside the Pale (Kiev, Riga, St. Petersburg, Rostov on Don, and Kharkov). The city containing the greatest number of Jews is Warsaw with 308,488, whilst Odessa comes next with 170,000 and Lodz with 92,308. Thus, although the number of Jews in the Russian Empire is so small in proportion to the entire population that, if evenly distributed throughout the Tsar's dominions, their presence would be almost unnoticed, their forced aggregation in the towns of only one-fifth of European Russia has produced an intensity of communal life, preserved intact the orthodox observance of religious customs and the spirit of national culture, and created permanent problems of economic distress.

In Austria-Hungary the Jews present a similar phenomenon of uneven distribution. Their total numbers are 1,313,687 in Austria,² and 932,416 in Hungary,³ forming a percentage of only 4·4 of the entire population. But two-thirds of the Jews in Austria are crowded together in the province of Galicia, where they form over 10 per cent of the population. In the province of Bukowina the proportion

¹ *Die sozialen Verhältnisse der Juden in Russland*, p. 16.

² Census of 1910.

³ Census of 1910 (*Die Welt*, 17th January 1913).

is a little higher, being nearly 13 per cent.¹ The early history of Galicia belongs to the kingdom of Poland, hence we naturally find there a great aggregation of Jews. In two towns of Galicia, Brody and Buczacz, they form an absolute majority, and in ten they form the relative majority.² They also constitute more than a fourth of the inhabitants in seven towns in Hungary.³ Their highest percentage (67·5) is in Brody, where, however, the total number of Jews is only 14,729. The highest number of Jews in any city in Austria-Hungary is 203,687 in Budapest, where they form nearly a fourth of the inhabitants, whilst in Vienna they number 175,318, and constitute less than a tenth of the inhabitants. Lemberg, Cracow, and Czernowitz are the next three Jewish communities in point of size ranging from 57,387 to 28,613.

After Austria-Hungary comes Germany, with a Jewish population of 615,029,⁴ which forms less than one per cent of its entire numbers, and of which nearly one-fourth is found in the city of Greater Berlin (142,289).⁵ In Turkey, which showed generous hospitality to the Jews upon their expulsion from mediæval Spain, there are now, in consequence of the recent loss of territory, only about 95,000,⁶ mostly concentrated in Constantinople. In Rumania there are 250,000, forming about 3·2 per cent of the general population. Here, as in Russia, they have been forbidden by law to live in the country districts; they have been evicted from one village after another and compelled to crowd into the towns. Hence, nearly one-half of their number are cooped up in the four cities of Bucharest, Jassy, Botoschani, and Galatz, comprising half of the population in Jassy and Botoschani. In the British Isles, where a resettlement of the Jews took place under Cromwell after an absence of three centuries and a half, there are 270,000, representing a percentage of 59 of all the inhabitants. More than half of

¹ *Zeitschrift für Statistik und Demographie der Juden*, 1912.

² *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 22.

³ *Ibid.*, 1912, p. 136.

⁴ Census of 1910.

⁵ *Zeitschrift für Statistik und Demographie der Juden*, 1913, p. 12.

⁶ Estimate of "Alliance Israélite Universelle."

them live in London (160,000), and more than a fourth in the three cities of Manchester, Leeds, and Liverpool. The total number of Jews in the United Kingdom, however, is less than that in the one city of Warsaw. Holland, which, like Turkey, also welcomed fugitives from Inquisition-ridden Spain and Portugal, has 106,309,¹—less than the number in Vienna—of whom more than half are confined to Amsterdam. France has 100,000, which is less than Odessa, and forms less than one-quarter per cent of the general population, whilst more than half are confined to Paris. Italy has only 45,000, of whom 10,000 live in Rome; Bulgaria, 50,000, of whom one-fourth live in Sofia and Philippopolis; Belgium, 15,000, of whom nearly one-half are in Brussels (6500); and Switzerland has 19,023.² Greece, through its acquisition of Salonica and other Turkish towns, has now about 90,000 Jews, and Servia about 16,000, while the remaining countries of Europe, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, and Portugal have each less than 4000.

The Jews in Asia number only 525,658, an insignificant fraction of the teeming millions in that vast continent. Less than a fourth (100,000) live in Palestine, where they form 14·2 per cent of the general population, a higher proportion than is to be found in any other country in the world, not even excepting Poland, where they constitute 13·7 per cent of the population. Fully one-half of the Jews in Palestine live in Jerusalem, where they comprise half of the inhabitants. In Asia Minor there are 60,000, of whom nearly one-half live in Smyrna. In Asiatic Russia there are 120,636; in Syria and Mesopotamia, 100,000; in Persia, 40,000; in Arabia, 30,000; in Afghanistan, 19,000; in India, 20,900, of whom more than a half are in the State of Bombay; in China and Japan, 2000. In Palestine, Asiatic Russia, and Japan, the Jewish population is largely composed of European immigrants who settled in those countries in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In the other parts of Asia the Jews have formed a constant element since the early centuries of the current era, their first notable migration eastward from Palestine having been

¹ Census of 1909.

² Census of 1910.

due to deportation after the destruction of the first Temple, more than two thousand years ago. The Jews of Cochin claim to have come to Malabar from Jerusalem soon after its downfall in the year 70, whilst the derelict Jewish colony in Kai-Fung-Foo has a tradition that Jews first entered China under the Han dynasty, during the reign of Han Ming-ti, 58-76 C.E.

The Jews in Africa number 414,246, of whom nearly 300,000 inhabit the countries along the north coast. Their settlement in this region, irrespective of the period of bondage in the Egypt of the Pharaohs, took place two thousand years ago. The communities are to be found at their densest in Morocco, which is believed to contain 109,000 Jews, mostly congregated in Mogador, Tetuan, and Tangier. In Algeria there are 70,271, and in Tunis, 65,213.¹ In Egypt there are 50,000, of whom more than five-sixths are concentrated in Cairo and Alexandria; and in Tripoli and Cyrenaica, 19,000. Abyssinia contains an ancient community, who trace their history back to the days of the Temple and their origin to the visit paid by the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon. Their numbers have been estimated by Dr. Jacques Faitlovitch, who has made several explorations of the country since 1904, at 50,000.² In the neighbouring territory of the East African Protectorate there is a small colony of fifty Jews, who have recently immigrated thither either direct from Europe or from South Africa.

In South Africa itself there is a thriving community of 50,000, consisting almost entirely of immigrants from Europe and their descendants, of whom a third are concentrated in Johannesburg and Cape Town. The founders of this community made their way to the Cape in the early part of the nineteenth century, and were pioneers in the industrial development of nearly the whole interior of the country.³ The great influx of Jews into this region, however, did not take place until the outbreak of persecu-

¹ *Zeitschrift für Demographie der Juden*, 1911, p. 48.

² Dr. J. Faitlovitch, *Quer durch Abessinien*, p. 173.

³ Cf. "Jewish Pioneers of South Africa," by Sidney Mendelssohn, in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, vol. vii. pp. 180-205.

tions in Russia, in the early eighties, and they are now to be found in hundreds of towns throughout British South Africa, extending from the coast to the farthest outposts in the interior.

The Jews in America number 2,495,805, and form the second largest continental aggregation. Their connexion with America began even before its discovery, for they were the authors of astronomical works and scientific instruments that helped Columbus to direct his course, they supplied a great deal of the money that made his voyages possible, and at least five persons of Jewish blood accompanied him on his first voyage. It is even now conjectured that Columbus himself was of Jewish blood. The coincidence of his discovery of the New World with the expulsion of the Jews from Spain seems as obvious an act of Providence as any that historians can demonstrate. The phenomenon has often been noted by those who have chronicled the wanderings of Israel, but the first to refer to it was Columbus himself in his journal, a letter written to his Jewish patron, Santangel. The coincidence, striking as it is, should not blind us, however, to the fact that Jews contributed in brains and money to the discovery of their new land of refuge. Moreover, one of their number, Luis de Torres, who accompanied Columbus as an interpreter, is believed to have been the first European to tread the soil of America.

The first migration of Jews to the New World took place at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when exiles from Spain settled in Brazil, Mexico, Peru, and other parts of South America. A hundred and fifty years later the descendants of other exiles, who had fled to Holland and built up the important community of Amsterdam, emigrated to New Amsterdam, and formed the nucleus of the still more important and numerous community of New York. The wars in Central Europe in the eighteenth century, culminating in the partition of Poland, drove another host of emigrants, mostly from Germany and Poland, across the Atlantic. But all these successive migrations, even down to the middle of the nineteenth

century, did not contribute any very considerable addition to the population. Not until 1882, when an epidemic of massacres broke out among the Jews in Russia, did the volume of emigration attain imposing dimensions. From that year down to the present day the tide of Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe has flowed without pause, increasing in strength with every fresh outbreak of persecution. Before the eighties the Jewish population of America was less than half a million: it now amounts to more than four times that number.

The inequality that marks the distribution of the Jews in the Old World also characterizes their settlement in the New World. The overwhelming bulk live in the United States, while smaller communities have developed in Canada, Argentine, Mexico, and some of the southern republics. In the United States the Jewish population may be estimated at 2,300,000 souls,¹ nearly half of whom are contained in a single city—Greater New York. This city, with its aggregation of a million Jews, possesses the largest Jewish community in the world, and likewise the largest known in the entire annals of history. The dimensions of the vast colony may be appreciated from the fact that it contains as many Jews as the next five largest centres put together, namely, Warsaw, Budapest, Chicago, Vienna, and Odessa. At present the Jews form a little more than a fourth of the general population in New York, and while there is no doubt that their absolute numbers will steadily increase, it is also very probable that with their superior fecundity they will soon surpass their present ratio to the general population. There are several other cities, too, with big Jewish communities: Chicago has 200,000; Philadelphia, 150,000; Boston, 75,000; Cleveland, 60,000; and Baltimore, 50,000. In Canada there are 74,564, nearly half of whom are concentrated in Montreal,² while 22,500 live in Toronto, and 14,000 in Winnipeg. In the Argentine there are 100,000, of whom 24,000 are settled in the agricultural colonies established by the Jewish Coloniza-

¹ See Appendix I.

² Census of 1911 (*Canadian Jewish Times*, 14th March 1913).

tion Association, and the remainder are in Buenos Ayres and other cities.¹ Mexico has nearly 10,000 Jews, Cuba 4000, and Brazil 3000, while smaller numbers are dispersed in Jamaica, Dutch Guiana, Venezuela, Chile, and other southern states.

Australasia, the last of the continents to be colonized, contains only 19,415 Jews, of whom 2128 are inhabitants of New Zealand. The largest community is that of Sydney, which has 6355 Jews, while Melbourne comes next with 5500. In Perth there are 1100, and the numbers in the other towns are even smaller. The settlement of the Jews in Australasia began in the early part of the nineteenth century, but it did not attain considerable proportions—in relation to local conditions—until the discovery of gold in 1851. The earliest immigrants originated from England, and most of the subsequent settlers also proceeded from this country, including of late years some Russian Jews, who, finding no prospects of improvement here, sailed for the Antipodes.

¹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 29th May 1914.

CHAPTER II

DIVERSITY OF COMPOSITION

Diversity the result of dispersion—The main difference distinguishing the Jews of the East from those of the West—The vigour and complexity of Jewish life in the West—Differences between Eastern and Western Europe—Characteristics of Eastern Europe—Religious tendencies in Western Europe and America—Zionism and other forms of Nationalist aspiration—Forces of dissolution: in economic, political, social, and intellectual life

THE great diversity that characterizes modern Jewry is the natural result of its dispersion throughout the globe. Although united by community of religion and culture, the Jews present notable differences of physical type and intellectual tendency. This differentiation is produced by the influence of their several environments, which vary from one another in physical, political, and intellectual conditions, and effect corresponding variations among their Jewish denizens. But the Jews of any particular country, although exposed to the same general influences, are not moulded into a uniform pattern. Having settled in the land at different periods, and having brought from their previous homes different modes of life and different degrees of conservatism, they resist the surrounding influences with unequal will and strength and exhibit varying grades of assimilation to the general population. In each individual country, therefore, there is a series of classes or types of Jews, shaded off from one another, and thus the multiplicity of types in the world forms an almost endless series.

The main difference is that which distinguishes the Jews of the East from those of the West, though these

terms must not be taken in a strictly geographical sense. The Jews of the East are those living in the countries of Asia, North Africa, and Eastern Europe. Settled in lands that have known little or no progress for the last two thousand years, cut off from the stimulating forces of modern thought and civilization, they have remained for the most part in the same stage of culture as their remote ancestors. The Jews of Asia Minor, Persia, and Arabia, probably differ in physiognomy only in a faint degree from the contemporaries of Judas Maccabæus, while those settled along the southern shore of the Mediterranean can also have undergone little change owing to their living in compact, congested communities. From the days when the Rabbis of the schools of Babylon mapped out minutely the religious life of the Jew, these Eastern communities have shown unswerving loyalty to Talmudic law and traditional custom. Only once, in the eighth century, did a revolt break out against the Rabbinical code, but the sectarians, who proclaimed their adhesion to the letter of the Scriptures and are known as Karaites, were never numerous. Their numbers are estimated at the present day at 12,000, of whom 10,000 are in Russia. But the bulk of eastern Jewry remained stationary and stagnant, save for its natural increase, until aroused from its long slumber fifty years ago by the educational efforts of the "Alliance Israélite Universelle," supplemented later by the Anglo-Jewish Association and the "Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden."

Quite a different spectacle is presented by the Jews of the West, who have continuously displayed intellectual activity for the last twelve hundred years. Not only have they produced a voluminous literature of theology, poetry, and philosophy, besides works of travel, history, satire, and imagination, but even in the days of political outlawry they distinguished themselves as devotees of science, particularly in the realm of medicine, astronomy, and mathematics. At the present day, in every country of Western Europe, in America, and in the British possessions, Jews are participating in the general life of their environ-

ment, in its social and political affairs, its industrial and commercial activity, and its intellectual aspirations. It is just because their share in the national life of their country, especially where they enjoy complete emancipation, has developed to such a high degree, that a complexity has been wrought in their own life. Moulded by an infinitude of competing influences in their several centres, despite their inherited instincts and ideas, they acquire a varied outlook upon Judaism, develop differences of religious creed and conformity and maintain different views upon their duty towards their race and upon its destiny.

An exhaustive enumeration of all the types and tendencies among Western Jewry would be impossible in a preliminary survey: the utmost that can be attempted is to trace the main forces making either for the absorption or the preservation of the race. Such a survey is best conducted from east to west, from Eastern Europe, where political bondage has caused the social isolation of Jewry, to Western Europe and other parts of the world where political equality has been followed by a liberal intermingling with non-Jews. By Eastern Europe is meant primarily the Russian Empire, in which, with insignificant exceptions, Jews are denied the ordinary rights of citizenship and are confined to the Pale of Settlement. The exclusion of the Jews from political and civic life, on the one hand, and their aggregation in towns in which they form the majority, on the other hand, have had the inevitable effect of intensifying their communal life and strengthening their solidarity. They have produced a Jewish environment in a non-Jewish land, an environment affording most of the essential conditions for a strict observance of religious rites, for the preservation of ancient traditions, the fostering of a separate culture, and the pursuit of distinctive ideals. They have contributed to the development of a modern Jewish literature, press, and drama, to the maintenance of separate schools and libraries, to the formation of countless societies for intellectual or philanthropic purposes, and even to the creation of specifically Jewish industries. The atmosphere thus created in

the Russian Pale is reproduced in the neighbouring territory of Galicia ; it prevails likewise in Rumania and Turkey, and it is also found, in greater or less measure, modified by liberal conditions and tintured by the local spirit, in the great Ghettos that have arisen in Western Europe and America.

✓ This atmosphere is permeated and dominated by the sentiment of religion : it fills a world that revolves about an axis of orthodox faith, whose poles have been fixed by the laws of the Talmud. Not all the inhabitants of this world are attached with equal fervour to the ancient traditions, but all are under the influence of the spirit of Rabbinical Judaism which has held dominion in their midst for more than a thousand years. The most orthodox regulate every day in their lives, from the cradle to the grave, by the minute and comprehensive laws of the mediæval codex, the *Shulchan Aruch* (" Table Prepared "), based and elaborated upon the decisions of the Talmud, which, in turn, are derived from the laws of Moses. Settled though the Jews have been in Poland, Lithuania, and Galicia, for hundreds of years, their minds are still steeped ✓ in the lore of their ancestors who lived in Babylon in the early centuries after the destruction of the Temple. To them the traditions handed down by their ancestors are as dear and as divinely inspired as the commandments thundered forth from Sinai. They study them, and all ✓ ancient Hebrew literature embodying them, with touching piety ; they initiate their children into religious rites from their earliest lisp ; and they hold the day imperfect on which they have not uttered a hundred benedictions. Three times a day they turn their faces towards Jerusalem, their prayers re-echoing with the yearning for the coming of the Messiah and the rebuilding of Zion.

As we travel westward we reach a more temperate zone, which merges in places even into frigidity ; but so complex is the diversity of modern Jewry that even in lands that have witnessed the furthest extreme of reform, such as Germany and the United States, there are numerous strongholds of orthodoxy. The general feature that

distinguishes Western Jewry is moderation in devotion and in the observance of traditional customs. The prevalent and growing tendency, due to social and economic forces, is to divorce religious practice from daily life, to exclude the former more and more from the home and to confine it to the synagogue. The synagogues are more imposing and ornate than in the East, but, except for New Year and the Day of Atonement, they mostly present a doleful array of deserted benches. In matters of ritual Western Jewry is divided into Ashkenazim or "German," and Sephardim or "Spaniards," a distinction which dates from mediæval times, when Germany and Spain formed the two most important centres of Jewish life and which consists, apart from the question of ritual, in a different pronunciation of Hebrew and different intonation of the prayers. In matters of principle, Western Jewry is divided into two camps—Orthodoxy and Reform—the division being based on a difference of conception of Israel's destiny. The Orthodox regard the dispersion of Jewry as a divine punishment for past transgression, and they believe in the coming of a personal Messiah and in the restoration of Israel to Palestine. The Reformers, on the other hand, regard dispersion as Israel's final lot and as the divinely appointed means for universalizing the teachings of Judaism. These differences of principle are reflected in the ritual and other external forms, but neither Orthodoxy nor Reform presents an aspect of complete uniformity. In recent years a new development of the Reform school has arisen under the name of Liberal Judaism, a movement which has made further sacrifices of traditional rites and provides services in the vernacular on Saturday afternoon or Sunday morning for those who cannot or will not attend the synagogue on the Sabbath.

The conflict of views upon the destiny of Israel is also reflected in the varying attitude towards the Zionist movement, which aims at re-establishing Jewish national life in Palestine. Zionism draws the greatest proportion of its followers from the Orthodox camp, but there are many in it who are opposed to Zionism on the ground that the

restoration of Israel to the Holy Land must await the advent of the Messiah ; while there are Reformers who, though discarding the belief in a Messiah, look upon the regeneration of Judæa as the best means of fulfilling the Jewish mission. In this cross-division we may note that the two principal forces in the conservation of Judaism are the orthodox synagogue and the Zionist movement. The synagogue is a passive force, which is being slowly and subtly undermined by the adverse influences of Western civilization ; the Zionist movement is the only active force which is endeavouring to counteract these corroding influences. There are two other forms of nationalist aspiration of a feebler character. The one is the theory propounded by the Russo-Jewish historian, Dubnow, that national Jewish culture and autonomy should be developed in the various lands of dispersion, a theory which fails to take into account the diverse and adverse influences exercised by varied environments, resulting in different types of Judaism. The other tendency is embodied in the aim of the Jewish Territorial Organization to found a home for the Jewish people in any land on the face of the earth. This Organization, created in 1905 by seceders from the Zionist movement, at a time when the world re-echoed with the groans of the victims of Russian pogroms, found much sympathy and support at first ; but its quest for a land has so far been fruitless, and its positive activity has been limited to the transplanting of ten thousand Russian emigrants *via* Galveston to the United States.

Opposed to the agencies consciously striving for the conservation of Jewry are innumerable forces working for its dissolution. In every country in the Western world there is an open advocacy of the doctrine of assimilation, that Jews should regard themselves as distinguished from their fellow-citizens merely in respect of religion, but that otherwise they should merge themselves completely in the general life of the nation in whose midst they dwell. The practice of this doctrine, often preached from radical pulpits, inevitably leads to mixed marriages and apostasy. But the forces of dissolution operate for the most part

unconsciously : they arise from the very nature of the environment, which, impregnated with the spirit of science and dominated by industrial competition, is inimical to the cultivation of an Oriental faith. Even the Jews in Eastern Europe are also exposed to corroding influences, for political persecution drives them to seek refuge in baptism or else to remove their homes to a land where man's highest energies are devoted to the amassing of wealth. Thus the soul of Israel among the nations is nowhere immune from insidious assault. The exigencies of the economic world react upon all strata of Jewry, and cause widespread neglect of the Sabbath. The attractions of the political and the distractions of the social world influence those of comfortable material status, who seek further outlets for their ambition, and in the process they gradually become estranged from the synagogue and sometimes, even in the course of a generation or two, from their faith.

But more subtle and penetrating in its effects than all these forces is the general intellectual atmosphere of the countries of dispersion. Born in the homelands of modern civilization, reared in Western schools and universities, and nurtured upon non-Jewish lore, the Jews tend to become alienated from their own historic culture. Their thoughts and ideas are apt to be inspired and fashioned less by the intellectual traditions of their race than by the intellectual agencies of their native land ; and the less of Judaism they have imbibed in their youth the more easily are they moulded into the prevalent national type. This spiritual metamorphosis, aided and impelled by countless unseen forces, precipitates the detachment of Jews from their race and faith and their gradual absorption by the nations. Nor do they remain mere passive creatures of their environment, but actively assist in moulding it anew. In science and art, in literature and politics, in music and the drama, and in various spheres of the academic world, their achievements are remarkable not only in relation to the short time they have engaged in European culture, but in virtue of their own intrinsic worth. They are among the keenest and most

trenchant critics of literature, among the most fertile composers and brilliant executants of music; among the leading specialists in medical science, and the doughtiest champions of political and ethical movements. And the thoroughness with which they have thrown themselves into the intellectual ferment of modern times is evidenced by the fact that the Jewish origin of many celebrities often passes unnoticed, so utterly denuded is their work of any element reminiscent of their racial descent, religious faith, or historic culture.

CHAPTER III

SOLIDARITY

The springs of solidarity, and its forms of expression—The growth of the community and its institutions—The cultivation of solidarity—The work of philanthropic associations—The Nationalist movement—The potentialities of solidarity and its limitations

AMID the welter of conflicting movements and divergent tendencies that characterize modern Jewry, there is one unifying element: the sentiment of solidarity. Not only among those languishing in the lands of persecution, but also among those thriving in the lands of freedom, the feeling still prevails that "all Israel are brethren." The strength of this feeling is a witness to the continued vitality of the historic consciousness in this age of increasing assimilation; its universality is a consequence and a reflection of the world-wide dispersion of Jewry. The concrete form in which it is normally manifested is the spontaneous organization of communities in whatever part of the globe Jews may settle. The special forms in which it finds expression are the measures adopted for the relief of distress and the defence of Jewish interests, and, most notably, in the projects launched for the solution of the Jewish Question.

The simplest and commonest form of Jewish solidarity is the organized community, which will be found in any town containing even a handful of Jews. The motor force in its organization is the desire for public worship, which cannot be properly conducted according to religious law without a minimum of ten adult males. The primary force is thus religious, and its external expression gradually materializes into a Synagogue. This institution forms the

pivot and centre of communal life throughout Jewry, and its establishment is followed by the growth of a cluster of other institutions, each answering some definite social need or aspiration : a school for the education of the young in the tenets of Judaism and the Hebrew language, a committee or board of guardians for the relief of the poor, a society for the furtherance of Jewish knowledge by lectures and debates, and for the provision of social entertainment. An indispensable adjunct of every community is also a separate cemetery consecrated for the reception of the dead. The town communities are often linked together by association with a central body in the metropolis, either for religious or secular purposes, particularly in the Western world. The religious body acts as the ecclesiastical authority, the secular body as the guardian of civil and political interests. Some communities contain such an abundance and elaboration of institutions, answering not only to a variety of tendencies and rites in the religious domain, and to every conceivable social, philanthropic, and intellectual purpose, but also to separate industrial and professional interests, and to rival political aspirations, that they form complete social organisms in themselves.

Cognate in origin, allied by the same traditions and customs, these communities give to modern Jewry the semblance of a vast network of autonomous settlements. The enlightened Jew, in whatever part of the globe he may live, is conscious of this world-wide dispersion. He has acquired this consciousness from his earliest youth, with his initiation into the history of his people ; nay, from his early childhood, when he first heard stories of their persecution in barbarous lands told in hushed breath at the family hearth. The knowledge is fostered by his press, which takes as its sphere of interest the conditions of Jewry throughout the world ; it is stimulated by contact with fellow-Jews arriving from other lands ; it is sustained by the frequent dispersion of the members of a single family, particularly from Russia, to all corners of the globe. The average Jew of to-day, therefore, has a wide range of interests, an extensive area of vision. His sympathy finds

points of contact in every latitude ; his mental horizon encompasses the whole globe.

But there are more concrete and substantial media for the manifestation and cultivation of solidarity. They consist in the great philanthropic associations founded by the Jews of the West for the benefit of their brethren in the East, and, above all, in the organization aiming at the restoration of Jewish national life in Palestine. The philanthropic associations are to be found in all the great capitals of Europe, and their activity is confined for the most part to ameliorating the intellectual and economic conditions of the Jews in Eastern Europe and the Orient. Earliest in foundation was the "Alliance Israélite Universelle," which was established in 1860, in Paris, to relieve the social misery and intellectual stagnation of the Jews in the Near East, brought to light by the ritual murder accusation of Damascus. Its plan of operation was to found schools in which the children should receive a modern training to equip them for the battle of life. Eleven years later the Anglo-Jewish Association was established in London to aid in this work, and soon after the "Israelitische Allianz" was formed in Vienna to deal similarly with the needs of the swarming populace of Galicia. The most recent foundation is the "Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden" of Berlin, which not only aims at improving the conditions of the Jews of the East, but also protects and assists the hosts of Russian emigrants who yearly pass through Germany in quest of a land of refuge. The activity of these bodies is solely philanthropic, but it assumes somewhat of a political colouring when the lives and property of their countless wards are threatened by riots or persecution, for then they solicit the goodwill of their respective governments on their behalf. But this political activity—if such it may be called—is prompted solely by a crisis, and it is wholly confined to overcoming the crisis. Richer in resources and wider in its area of activity is the Jewish Colonization Association, which owes its existence and its funds entirely to one man, Baron Maurice de Hirsch. Founded in Paris, in 1891, for the relief of the Jews in Russia by settling them

in agricultural colonies in Argentina, it soon expanded in scope, establishing farmsteads in North and South America, undertaking the supervision of the colonies in Palestine created by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, and adopting various practical measures for improving the status of the Jews in Eastern Europe and the neighbouring lands of Asia.

The most impressive manifestation of solidarity is afforded by the Zionist movement, which aims at restoring Jewish national life in the Holy Land. It is the only movement of a political character which binds the scattered members of Israel together. Its ideals, espoused in every country of the world, provide the only common platform upon which Jews of different environment and upbringing can meet, for they are directed not to the amelioration of any section but to the advancement of the welfare of the whole people. The Zionist Congresses have contributed more to enabling Jews of different lands and languages to understand one another and to levelling down environmental prejudices than any other factor in modern times. By rousing the historic consciousness, by promoting the use of Hebrew as a spoken language and fostering its literature, by bringing the vision of a regenerated Judæa from the mystic region of Messianic ideals to the terrestrial sphere of modern politics, and by focusing effort upon the practical rejuvenation of Palestine, Zionism has contributed in an unparalleled degree to the strengthening of racial solidarity. Its offspring, the Jewish Territorial Organization, which aims at finding a land of refuge anywhere, is also an expression of solidarity, but its main activity is that of an emigration agency, and hence it more properly belongs to the philanthropic category.

Apart from the regular work performed by these various associations, exceptional measures of relief have to be adopted from time to time. The Jewish people are peculiarly exposed to chronic catastrophes—a pogrom in Russia, a fire in a Turkish Ghetto, or a famine in the Holy Land; and the cry of distress that then rings through the Western world finds immediate response. If funds are

wanted, they are sent quickly and liberally ; if political protection is needed, it is immediately sought from the Government that has the greatest influence in the country affected. So promptly do the leaders of Western Jewry act that a threatened disaster is often averted, and however great and urgent the demand for monetary aid may be they can easily satisfy it. In acts of charity they are unsurpassed, exercising unsleeping vigilance over their brethren in bondage, but they have not yet learned that prevention is better than cure. No practical attempt has yet been made to unite the various organizations in order to devise measures for diminishing the possibility of misfortunes in the future. Co-operation of a certain kind does, indeed, take place, especially in regard to the educational work in the East and the protection of the emigrants who wander across half the globe in search of a home. International conferences have also been held, in Paris, Berlin, Frankfort, and Brussels, but they were summoned, with one exception, to deal with an urgent crisis—a massacre in Russia, a sudden exodus from Rumania. They fulfilled their function, they afforded temporary measures of relief, but they achieved nothing permanent. The only attempt, at Brussels in 1906, to create a general organization comprising representatives of all the existing bodies, to deal with the chronic evils of the Jewish situation, proved abortive. The imaginative Anti-Semite has long babbled of an international Jewish syndicate hatching dark, political plots, but little does he dream how Jews in authority recoil from the mere hint of a cosmopolitan organization. A scheme was actually proposed a few years ago for the creation of a standing committee of representatives of the philanthropic and political bodies of Europe and America, to meet at regular intervals, but it was received with scant sympathy in influential quarters. Even an alternative scheme, to facilitate rapidity of inter-communication and co-operation in cases of emergency, met with divided approval ; and although it has been recently revived, the only result was a union of some of the philanthropic organizations to carry out the relief of

the Jewish victims of the Balkan War. The obstacles to permanent concerted action exist partly in the personal factor, and partly in the policy represented by most of the organizations, that each country has its own individual Jewish question which must be solved separately and locally. The only body that has had the sagacity to perceive the organic connexion of the Jewish problems in the various lands of dispersion, and which has projected a solution upon a far-reaching scale, is the Zionist Organization. But the Zionists form only a fraction of the Jewish people, and their present resources are painfully meagre in relation to the stupendous task before them. A union of the ideals and policy of Zionism with the funds and influence of the philanthropic associations, aided by the combined capital of the great Jewish financial houses, would provide the most potent and promising basis for achieving a speedy solution of the Jewish question. But a practical manifestation of catholic solidarity of such magnitude, embracing the sum total of Jewish power and Jewish idealism, and consecrated to the realization of Israel's highest destinies, remains a dream of the future.

BOOK II

THE SOCIAL ASPECT

INTRODUCTION

A study of the Social Aspect must precede that of other aspects
—The sequence of social phenomena to be studied

HAVING made a survey of the far-spreading map of modern Jewry and considered its three dominant features, we shall now pursue a series of detailed investigations into the main aspects of Jewish life, with a view to revealing more precisely and intimately the conditions which it assumes in different parts of the world. Our first inquiry will be into the Social Aspect, because this will take us into the very midst and heart of the people themselves and make us familiar with the human material which is variously moulded by the political and economic forces, and by the intellectual and religious influences, which will be considered later. It is true that the social conditions of the Jews are largely affected by political and economic circumstances, and it might therefore be expected that the latter should be treated first ; but it will lead to a better appreciation of both if we first study the lives of the Jews in their homes and communities before examining their relations to the State and to the question of occupation and livelihood. Moreover, owing partly to the fact that many features of their social life are fashioned primarily by religious laws and traditions, and partly to the fact that over two and a half million natives of Eastern Europe have settled in masses in other parts of the world during the last thirty years, there is a greater and more widespread

uniformity in their social life—regarded in its widest sense—than in any other aspect of Jewish life. But although the Social Aspect has a just claim to be treated first, its exposition will inevitably be interspersed with references and allusions to other aspects so far as necessary ; for in Jewish life all aspects are more or less closely intermingled and cannot be shut off into water-tight compartments.

In the ensuing survey we shall deal, first of all, with the constitution of the Jewish community, with the forces that have contributed to its development and determined its particular character in different countries, and with the principal features that distinguish one community from another. We shall then describe the characteristics of the family, the features and customs of home life, philanthropic activity, morality, social recreation, and, finally, the racial and physical characteristics of the Jew.

CHAPTER I

THE COMMUNITY

The community as the conservator of Jewish life—Variations among modern communities—Factors determining the character of a community—Origin of Eastern communities and their character—Differences between Eastern communities—The voluntary character of Western communities—Their heterogeneity—The Western Ghetto—The Western Ghetto, a half-way house

THE corporate life of the Jewish people for nearly two thousand years has been founded upon a communal basis. Exiled from the land in which they had developed their national life, and dispersed in the process of ages unto the four corners of the earth, they have succeeded in preserving most of the distinctive traits of a separate people. The survival of these traits through an endless cycle of wanderings and persecutions is one of those strange phenomena that challenge the analytic power of the scientific historian and that are popularly attributed to the favour of Providence. But this riddle of the Jewish persistence can be explained by forces and factors of a human order. Those forces were twofold, internal and external. The internal force was the attachment to a religion whose innumerable prescriptions controlled and coloured the life of every day and necessitated close congregation ; the external force was the oppression which compelled the Jews to live in isolation in the various lands of their dispersion. In some countries the isolation was only social, due to the prevalence of religious prejudice and the feudal system ; in others it assumed the form of a special Jews' quarter, or Ghetto, bounded by tall gloomy walls and barred by an iron gate. Within the communities in which they thus dwelt, especially in Central Europe, they enjoyed a certain measure of

autonomy and consolidated their social organization. They conserved their religious rites and customs, they developed particular institutions, and they kept alive the traditional culture, the racial consciousness, and the national genius of their people.

As they have lived throughout their dispersion, so, for the most part, they live at the present day—in communities. These communities are, with very few exceptions, of an urban character ; those of a rural character comprise little more than a quarter of a million Jews altogether. They exist in every part of the globe, forming an integral factor in the social fabric of different countries, and sometimes, in Eastern Europe, occupying the greater part of a town and giving it its dominant character. In these settlements, differing in external structure and internal character, the specific life of Jewry manifests itself in countless forms and with varying intensity. Where the Jewish pulse beats most vigorously, there the people lead a life distinct from that of the surrounding nation, not merely in religious observance, but in every other sphere of human endeavour and aspiration. They confine their social intercourse for the most part to themselves; they organize their own education, industries, and charities; pursue their own intellectual ideals, and combine occasionally for self-defence in the political arena, though into their midst inevitably penetrate echoes and elements of the national life around them. Even where Jewish life is at its lowest ebb there will be found a synagogue which provides a bond of union among those who still wish to remain within the fold. Where there is no synagogue nor any attempt to provide a substitute there may, indeed, be Jews, but there is no Jewish life: the Jews become so many indistinguishable atoms in the general social mass.

The most important factor determining the constitution and character of a Jewish community is environment, and next to this is the density of the Jewish population. Either of these factors is sufficient in itself to engender a robust communal spirit ; where the two are combined, the ideal conditions are present for a vigorous communal life in its countless ramifications. These ideal conditions are found



THE JEWISH QUARTER IN AMSTERDAM
FROM THE PAINTING BY PROF. MAX LIEBERMANN

throughout the lands of the East, in Asia and North Africa, as well as in Eastern Europe, where political despotism and religious fervour or fanaticism provide a favourable soil for separatist settlements. But in the lands of the West, whether in Europe, America, or the British Colonies, where the Jews enjoy civil and political freedom in varying degree and are not excluded by legal barriers from social intercourse with their neighbours, a certain compactness of population alone can give substance and strength to communal life. Thus, in the East the adhesion to separate communities is mostly compulsory, in the West it is entirely voluntary. Even in the countries of Central Europe, where the congregations are under a sort of State supervision, every Jew can please himself whether he joins one or not.

In the lands of the East the communities owed their establishment to differences of religion, to the sentiment of national separateness, and to the position of political servitude, to which, with occasional intervals of clemency, the Jews were mostly condemned. The forces that brought them into being in the early ages, and which preserved them throughout the mediæval tribulations, serve to maintain them intact at the present day. The religious differences have lost little of their acuteness in the process of centuries; the sentiment of national separateness has been deepened by the accumulated memories and traditions of the past; while the political despotism of mediæval days continues for the most part to hold uninterrupted sway. The countries in which these conditions prevail in varying degrees contain far more than half of the Jewish people: they comprise Russia, Rumania, Turkey and its dependencies, Morocco, Persia, and Afghanistan. In the Ottoman Empire the establishment of constitutional government has removed one of the main forces favourable to segregation, but the effects of centuries of political bondage cannot easily be annulled. In the other countries, however, the Jews still live in a state of outlawry, unrelieved by the revolutions that have taken place in Russia, Morocco, and Persia. In Russia they are mostly confined to the Pale of Settlement, where again they are limited to the towns; in Rumania too

they are confined to the towns ; and in Morocco, Persia, and Afghanistan they must live in Ghettos. Sundered from the national life both by legal and physical barriers they are thrown back upon themselves and concentrate their energy upon their own communal interests.

Jewish life in these Eastern countries has all the intensity and distinctiveness of the life of an independent nation. Not only is it distinguished by its own traditions, customs, and institutions, by its home life and social intercourse, but also by language and occasionally even by dress. By reason of their historic migrations and communal isolation, the Jews have developed new languages or dialects of their own which are written in Hebrew characters. The most widely spoken of these idioms is Yiddish or Judeo-German, the development of the language which they took with them from Germany on their eastward migration in the sixteenth century, which they cultivated on Slavic soil with graftings from Hebrew, and which is now spoken not only throughout the Russian Pale of Settlement and adjacent lands, but also in every part of the world in which Russian Jews have settled. In the greater part of the Ottoman Empire, as well as in Bulgaria and Servia, they speak Ladino or Judeo-Spanish, the development of the language which they carried away on their expulsion from Spain in 1492, and which they cultivated on Turkish soil, likewise with graftings from Hebrew. In Arabic-speaking countries, from Morocco to Mesopotamia, they have developed a peculiar form of Arabic ; in Persia, of Persian, and in Bokhara, of Bokharan. The distinction of dress is by no means so marked or so prevalent as that of language. In Morocco the Jews must arrange the folds of their outer garment so as to leave only the left hand free ; in Persia they are not allowed to wear the *kolah*, the national head-dress. In Poland and Galicia they voluntarily wear long gaberdines and round fur hats, whilst those who belong to the sect of Chassidim also wear white socks into which they tuck the bottom of their trousers.

There are two other features which Eastern communities have in common and which distinguish them from conditions in the West—their homogeneity and their poverty.

The population of the Eastern communities is mostly of one kind : it is an indigenous population, whose history dates back many hundreds of years and in some cases, such as Damascus and Cairo, more than two thousand years. It is mainly in Palestine that the Jewish population comprises different elements, originating not only from neighbouring countries but also from Russia and other parts of the world. As for the poverty, that is a natural product of the political despotism and chronic persecutions that hold sway in these Eastern regions.

Similar in the various features just enumerated, the communities of Eastern Europe differ notably from those of the Orient in some intellectual and physical respects. The former are distinguished by intellectual vitality and physical mobility ; the latter by intellectual stagnation and physical inertia. The mental torpor of the East has been gradually stirred by the educational labours conducted in its midst by Western Jewry ; and the immobility of its masses has also undergone a change of late, particularly in Morocco, where the ravages of civil war have inflicted terrible sufferings upon the Jews, forcing many of them to seek a home in Algeria, Egypt, and Palestine. But mental and physical inertia are still the general characteristics of Eastern Jewry. On the other hand, Jews in Eastern Europe, particularly in Russia, have manifested a vigorous intellectual activity by their production of a literature, press, and drama of their own ; while their mobility is one of the most dominant factors in modern life. For close upon thirty years the current of migration has flowed steadily from Russia and Rumania westward, leaving a deposit in its course. The primal impetus was an outbreak of persecution ; but oppression is now such a normal phenomenon that the stream of migration flows unceasingly. The communities of Eastern Europe are not undergoing a depletion of numbers, however, as the loss through emigration is more than compensated by the natural increase.¹ The most favoured lands of

¹ The annual increase of the Jews in Russia is about 120,000 (2 per cent), while the annual emigration is estimated at 100,000 (Mr. Benjamin Grad in *Jewish Chronicle*, 10th April 1914).

refuge are England, America, and the British Colonies, in which populous and thriving Jewish centres have arisen.

The most important feature that distinguishes the communities of the West from those of the East is their voluntary character. There is no legal power that isolates Jewry from its surroundings, although in several countries on the continent of Europe the ecclesiastical administration of the community is to a certain extent still under the supervision of the State. The spontaneous character of Jewish settlements is exemplified most forcibly in those that have sprung up in the latter half of the nineteenth century in England, the United States, and the British Colonies. The forces that have contributed to their foundation were mainly the racial and the religious consciousness, and a supplementary cause was the foreign origin of the founders of the community, which impelled them to form some sort of separate association in the beginning. But foreign origin alone would not have sufficed to preserve a separate community, for prolonged residence and commercial intercourse tend to assimilate its members to the dominant nationality. The vital factors in its preservation were the historic consciousness that differentiated it from the people around it, and the religious consciousness that needed for its manifestation a place of worship and subsidiary institutions. The strength of these factors is shown in the size and solidity of numberless communities in the lands of freedom, made up of a variety of special institutions. Of these the first in point of time and importance is the synagogue, after which come the school and the cemetery, followed by societies for charitable, social, intellectual, professional, and even political purposes, according as the numbers and needs of the community increase and its problems develop. Communal life in the West is thus built up on a voluntary basis, and is independent of the concentrated settlement which is an invariable feature of all Jewries in Eastern countries, although this feature is also found very frequently, particularly in the larger and old-established centres.

Western communities differ markedly from Eastern in

another respect, as they generally comprise two main sections—the native and the foreign, the latter consisting mostly of immigrants from Russia, Rumania, and Galicia, whilst including representatives from many other countries in the East. The native section lived in some sort of concentration in the early history of their community, within a convenient distance of the synagogue and the *kosher* butcher-shop; but a rise in material prosperity would be followed by removal to a better district, where a new Jewish area might be created, though one less distinguished from its environment by external tokens. The foreign section, however, live in a state of dense concentration. Their poverty makes them settle in a poor quarter of the town, where they reproduce the social conditions in which they have been born and bred, so far as the new environment will allow. They have been accustomed to live as one large family, speaking the same tongue and breathing the same air, and all revolving around the synagogue, which is for them not merely a house of worship and religious instruction, but a centre of charity and of social intercourse; and although they are now free to settle wherever they please, they cannot easily break away from the engrained habits of generations. The Ghetto in the East may be a symbol of political bondage; but in the West the only bondage that it typifies is that exercised by sentiment and tradition. To a large extent the modern Ghetto is necessitated by the precepts and practices of orthodox Judaism, by the need of dwelling within easy reach of the synagogue, the schoolroom, and the ritual bath, the *kosher* butcher-shop and the *kosher* dairy. But even for those who are indifferent to religious observances and ritual practices, residence in the Ghetto is necessitated by social and economic circumstances. Ignorance of the language of the new country, of its labour conditions, and of its general habits and ways of thought, as well as the natural timidity of a fugitive from a land of persecution, compels the immigrant Jew to settle in the colony of his co-religionists. Among them he is perfectly at home: he finds the path of employment comparatively smooth, and if his effort to attain it be

delayed he is helped in the interval by charity from a dozen hands.

The modern Ghetto is found in most of the large cities of Western Europe, America, and South Africa, its rise being due to the chronic persecution of the last thirty years in Russia and Rumania. In dimensions it is generally equal to, and occasionally greater than, its Eastern prototype, the Ghetto of New York being the largest in the world. There is more of the colour and intensity of Jewish life in the Ghetto than in the rest of the community. Innumerable blocks of mean houses, covering a wide area, are wholly inhabited by immigrant Jews, who swarm into the streets, talking their strange tongue, and sometimes still clad in the peaked hat and top-boots of their native countries. The streets are lined with shops and restaurants bearing foreign names and Hebrew signs; the walls are covered with multi-coloured posters in Yiddish; the gutters are occupied by rows of stalls and barrows, laden with exotic wares. In the larger centres there are special market-places which present a scene of tremendous bustle on the eve of Sabbaths and festivals, when every Jewish housewife lays in a store of fish and fowl to celebrate the sacred day with fitting honours. Newsboys rush through the motley crowd, crying the names of Yiddish papers; a stringed band at a street corner discourses some haunting Hebrew melody; a poor woman, with a child at her breast, sings a Yiddish song of sadness; a blind man offers for sale the little four-cornered fringed garments prescribed in Deuteronomy; a peripatetic bookseller proffers religious code-books and sensational romances; a labour agitator harangues a knot of workmen; an unctuous missionary quotes the New Testament in Yiddish and seeks to lure his hearers to apostasy; a Zionist orator waxes eloquent over the glories of a rejuvenated Judæa. Synagogues great and small, houses of Talmudic study, big religious seminaries that resound with boyish voices chanting the Torah, and little private schools tucked away in fifth-floor back-rooms, religious "courts of judgment" and libraries, baths, hospitals, and dispensaries, clubs, theatres, and dancing-

halls, asylums for newly-arrived immigrants, for the poor and the aged—these and countless other institutions make up the compact variegated fabric of the modern Ghetto.

But the inhabitants of the Western Ghetto are never permanent inmates ; they use it at most as a half-way house, as a transitional stage between East and West. The influences from without penetrate slowly and subtly, luring the Jew into the outer world. By dint of industry, sobriety, and thrift he improves his worldly position and moves to a more spacious quarter. By that time he will have mastered the vernacular and become pretty familiar with the principal conditions of his adopted fatherland. He possesses a hereditary gift for adaptability, which is stimulated by his native co-religionists, who make " Anglicization " or " Americanization," or whatever else the local term may be, a cardinal principle in their communal policy.¹ The actual immigrant from the East who settles in a Western Ghetto may, by reason of age, poverty, or prejudice, remain there and die there. But his children very seldom, perhaps never, do so : their modern education weakens the sentimental attachment to the Ghetto, and they prefer to live farther afield and enjoy a sense of actual equality with their non-Jewish neighbours. This steady migration of the children of the Ghetto into the outer circle of the communal area exercises a conservative influence upon religious conformity and Jewish life in general, which are everywhere exposed to the corroding effects of a Western environment. But simultaneously with the outflow from the Ghetto there is a regular influx from Eastern Europe, which is impelled by the forces of oppression and will continue as long as those forces prevail. Nothing but the grant of complete equality to the Jews of Eastern Europe can check the current of migration and the growth of Western Ghettos. Such an act of justice would have far-reaching results : it would ensure the material advancement of those who have hitherto been downtrodden, but it would also deprive Western Jewry of those successive bands of pietists who contribute so greatly to its conservation.

¹ Cf. "The Problems of Anglicisation," by the Rev. S. Levy, M.A., in *Proceedings of the Second Conference of Anglo-Jewish Ministers*, London, 1911.

CHAPTER II

THE FAMILY

The importance of the family in Jewry—The age of marriage—Marriages in the East and in the West—Betrothal—Religious celebrations—The legal aspect—The social celebration—The desire for children—Customs at birth—Religious rites at birth—The ceremony of "confirmation"

THE family possesses more than ordinary importance in Jewish life, for it is the bond of cohesion which has safeguarded the purity of the race and the continuity of religious tradition. It is the stronghold of Jewish sentiment, in which Jewish life unfolds itself in its most typical forms and intimate phases. To found a family is regarded not merely as a social ideal but as a religious duty. The Rabbis declared that the first affirmative precept in the Bible was the injunction "Be fruitful and multiply," and they invested marriage with the highest communal significance. They despised the bachelor and pitied the spinster. Only he who had founded a house in Israel was worthy to be considered a full-fledged member of the community; only she who had become a mother in Israel had realized her destiny. This view has become modified in modern times, though family life still enjoys much of its traditional importance in Jewry.

The Rabbis of ancient times prescribed the eighteenth year as the age for marriage. This principle is still followed in the Russian Pale, in Galicia and in Palestine, while in other Eastern countries, Morocco, Persia, and India, marriage often takes place even earlier. In Russia political conditions have combined with moral considerations to produce early marriages, for married men are exempt

from military service, and the father who has a dowry for his daughter seeks to secure her marriage before the *dot* can be imperilled by a riot. In Western countries, however, early marriages are rendered less frequent by prudential considerations, though the traditional ideal of family life acts as a check upon a distant postponement. In orthodox circles early marriages, particularly of the daughters, are fairly frequent, but in households long established in a Western environment the age for marriage approximates to that among the general population.

In Eastern countries, such as Morocco, Persia, and India, the marriage is arranged by the parents of the young couple, who submissively acquiesce in their fate. In Eastern Europe the parental negotiations are preceded by the activity of a matrimonial agent, who is rendered necessary by the segregation of the sexes still observed in most of the communities in Eastern Europe. The *Shadchan*, as he is called, is a prized visitor in the home of every marriageable girl, whose chances depend, apart from natural charms, upon the size of her dowry and the family reputation for piety, learning, and philanthropy. The highest virtue of the bridegroom is excellence in Talmudic study, which surpasses in value a splendid pedigree or a dazzling income bedimmed with ignorance. In most of the teeming communities of Russian and Galician Jewry the father still regards sacred learning as the noblest possession in a son-in-law, and if he can ally his daughter to a budding Rabbi he believes the union will find especial grace in Heaven. The lack of worldly means on the part of the bridegroom forms no deterrent, for it is customary for the father of the bride to keep his son-in-law in his own house for the first two years after marriage, and then to set him up in a home and business of his own. The services of the *Shadchan* are in constant demand: his area of operations extends throughout the Russian Pale and even across the frontier into Galicia, Rumania, and more distant lands. The couples whom he brings together hardly know one another before marriage and sometimes see each other for the first time on their wedding-day, but

their happiness is generally assured by their youth, the absence of a previous attachment, and the fact that marriage affords them the first opportunity of cultivating the sentiment of love.

In the West the arrangement of marriages tends to vary approximately in accordance with local customs and conditions, the freedom of intercourse between the sexes allowing of the natural development of personal affinities. The Talmudic scholarship of a young man enjoys little or no importance in the marriage-market : its place is taken by secular scholarship and scientific distinction, particularly in Austria and Germany. But the decisive element in the bridegroom's eligibility is his worldly position and prospects, whilst the bride must, like her sister in the Russian Pale, be provided with a dowry. Despite the free conditions of the West and the vogue of matrimonial advertisements in German countries, the *Shadchan* still plays an important part, and in America he is even insured by the contracting parties against a breach of promise. But, on the whole, Western Jewry is divided from Eastern Jewry in the facility of marriages of affection as well as in the care exercised to prevent improvident unions. In the East the religious importance attaching to marriage, the stigma attaching to celibacy, and the deep-rooted faith in God as the bountiful Provider of daily needs, usually outweigh material considerations, but in the West the material sustenance of wedded life must first be assured. This difference of attitude results not only in the postponement of marriage in the West, but also in the increase of celibacy, a tendency which is favoured by the sense of independence acquired by women who earn their own living and who find therein a source of consolation or distraction not open to their sisters in the East. Thus, the economic conditions of the modern world tend to modify profoundly the traditional ideals of family life.

In ancient times the ceremony of betrothal (*erusin*) consisted in the signing of a contract which could be set aside only by formal divorce, and it was followed twelve months after by marriage (*nissuin*, "home-taking"). But

when the Jews became dispersed among the nations they found this custom inexpedient, and so combined the two ceremonies in the marriage service. A Jewish betrothal now, therefore, is simply the ordinary engagement in the West, though it receives a religious sanction in the synagogue, in which the bridegroom, on the Sabbath following, is called up to the reading of the Law. Should the promise of marriage be unfulfilled, the girl who desires compensation must resort to the law of the land ; but she is generally restrained from such a step by modesty and prudence, as her plight would become the talk of the community.

The religious solemnization of marriage is, in its essential features, the same in all communities ; its festive celebration differs very widely according to environment. In orthodox circles the bride takes a ritual bath the day before the marriage, and both the bride and bridegroom fast on their wedding-day until the festal repast, in expiation of their sins. The scene of the nuptial ceremony is usually in the synagogue, where the rule as to the separation of the sexes is relaxed for the nonce. The young couple take their places beneath a canopy (*chuppah*) before the Ark of the Law, supported by their respective sponsors, who are known as *Unterführer*, and accompanied in Western countries by such conventional auxiliaries as best man, bridesmaids, and even page-boys. The Rabbi recites the marriage-benediction, offers a cup of wine to bride and bridegroom, and then the latter, placing a ring upon the bride's finger, makes the declaration : " Lo, thou art dedicated unto me by this ring according to the Law of Moses and Israel." The marriage contract, which is an Aramaic composition on parchment, is read ; the celebrant utters seven blessings over a second cup of wine ; the bridegroom crushes a glass under his foot as a symbol of grief for the loss of Zion ; and the celebrant pronounces the benediction.

Compliance with the marriage law of the land is naturally insisted upon by the religious authorities, but in very poor circles in Eastern Europe the act of marriage is sometimes confined to a private ceremony (*stille Chasunah*) at home, which is solemnized by an impecunious Rabbi, and the

legal formality of registration is omitted. Such marriages, however, are on the decrease owing to a growing knowledge of the perils involved by illegitimacy. No alliance may take place between a member of the Jewish faith and a Gentile, unless the latter previously becomes a proselyte; nor between a member of the priestly caste (a *Cohen*) and a widow or a divorced woman. Marriage with a brother's widow, which, when there was no issue, was regarded as obligatory in the Bible times (Deut. xxv. 5, 6), is generally discountenanced, and the ceremony for evading the obligation (*halizah*, "taking off the shoe") is observed pretty widely (Deut. xxv. 7-10), except in Reform circles.

In Oriental countries the wedding festivities continue several days, and the bride is led to the home of her husband amid the gladsome acclaim of an animated throng. In Russia and Galicia, particularly in the townlets with a tense Jewish atmosphere, the feast is prolonged to a late hour, while profound discourses on Talmudic themes are delivered not only by the Rabbis present, but also by the bridegroom, who, apparently, is expected to be so free from the exciting emotions of his new estate as to be able to hold forth for an hour upon some controversial theological topic. Entertainment of a lighter kind is provided by a party of fiddlers (*Klesmer*), one of whom, the jester (*Badhan* or *Marschalik*), improvises songs and japes, and addresses the bride in a mock-serious oration which reduces her to tears by depicting the trials awaiting the virtuous housewife in Israel. In Western countries a dinner and ball are considered in the middle classes the requisite features of a fashionable celebration, and in each locality a recognized code or ritual is scrupulously observed. On the Continent, particularly in Germany, it is customary to perform an amateur play gently satirizing the foibles of the young couple and their families. The honeymoon, which is unknown in Eastern Jewry, is cultivated throughout the West by all whose means allow them the luxury, but in conforming families it is postponed until after the Sabbath following the wedding, as a domestic celebration, known as the "Seven Blessings," is observed on the Day of Rest.



A JEWISH WEDDING
FROM THE PAINTING BY JOSEF ISRAELS

No marriage is considered blessed that has no issue ; no family is considered complete without children. The maternal instinct of the Jewess is not only a natural emotion, but a traditional ideal, illustrated in the prayer of Hannah. The simple and essential conditions of domestic bliss are picturesquely phrased by the Psalmist : " Thy wife shall be as a fruitful vine, in the innermost parts of thine house : thy children like olive plants, round about thy table." A husband is entitled to a divorce after ten years if the marriage has been childless, and hence among the poor pious classes in Eastern Europe a childless wife will perform all manner of virtuous deeds to secure the favour of motherhood and even consult a " good Jew," a man versed in Cabbalistic lore and reputed to possess the miraculous power of the Baal Shem, the founder of the Chassidic sect in the eighteenth century.¹ There is also a religious reason for desiring an heir, for it is the duty of a son to honour his parents' memory after death by reciting a special prayer (*Kaddish*, " sanctification ") to which profound—and almost superstitious—importance is attached. The desire for children is generally gratified, often in an abundant measure, though large families are becoming infrequent in the West, where prudential considerations prevail.

The birth of a child is attended by a number of customs, partly religious and partly superstitious, though the latter are confined mostly to communities in Eastern Europe and the Orient. In ignorant families there still prevails a belief in the power of Lilith over new-born babes, and her sinister influence is exorcised by a display of charms and amulets on the walls of the sick-chamber. These charms are mostly in the form of Hebrew leaflets, bearing verses from the Psalms and an invocation to the guardian angels, which are hung near the door or window. During the first eight days of its life, and in some places even for the first thirty days, the child is protected from *benemmerin*

¹ Israel b. Eliezer, of Miedzyboz (Poland), 1700–1760, who was credited with the power of working miracles by the name of God, and hence was known as the *Baal Shem Tob* (" Master of the Good Name ").

("pixies") by a group of young school-children who recite the evening prayers in the lying-in chamber under the supervision of a teacher. In parts of Germany, in Rumania, the Caucasus, and the Orient there are other peculiar customs for the protection of mother and child.

The birth of a boy is usually greeted with greater joy than that of a girl. The reasons are partly social, partly religious, and partly economic. The Oriental view of the inferiority of woman still largely colours the philosophy of Eastern Jewry. The religious pre-eminence of man consists in his being able to perform so many more commandments, Scriptural and Rabbinical, than the woman; and his economic advantage is particularly enhanced in a community in which the arrival of every daughter involves the saving up of a dowry. The principal custom connected with the birth of a male child is the "Covenant of the circumcision," which takes place on the eighth day at home, but in orthodox circles occasionally in the synagogue, when the day falls on the New Year or the Day of Atonement. The operation requires expert surgical skill, and hence in Western countries a Jewish doctor is preferred to a *Mohel*, or practitioner, who only possesses an ecclesiastical licence. The infant is borne from its mother's room by its godmother, who places it on the lap of its godfather, where the operation is performed and the child is named. The ceremony is celebrated by a breakfast, at which in orthodox circles the speeches often take the form of Talmudical discourses. A first-born son is liable to a further ceremony, for on the thirty-first day of his birth (Ex. xiii. 2, and Num. xviii. 16), he must be redeemed from a hypothetical sanctification to God by the payment of five *selaim* or silver coins (reckoned at fifteen shillings) by the father to a *Cohen*, or priest. The "redemption of the son" is made the occasion of a happy gathering, generally in the evening, and the money received by the *Cohen* is usually devoted to charity. In comparison with these various customs the formal reception of a female child into the community is simplicity itself. It consists of an announcement of her birth and Hebrew name

in the synagogue on the following Sabbath morning. But even this simple custom is falling into desuetude in Western Jewry, and the registration of the birth at the office of the civil authority is frequently deemed sufficient.

There is still another family celebration, when a boy on completing his thirteenth year publicly assumes religious responsibility, and is styled a "Son of the commandment" (*Bar Mitzvah*). The rite, known in Western countries as "Confirmation," is of an essentially religious character, but its domestic celebration enjoys at least equal if not greater importance. On the Sabbath after his thirteenth birthday, the boy is called up to the reading of the Law in the synagogue, and cantillates a portion in the traditional melody; while his father offers up a benediction for being exempted from future responsibility for the lad's religious conformity. The event is celebrated at home mostly by a breakfast, at which many speeches are delivered, including one by the boy himself, which, in orthodox families, consists of a Talmudical discourse learned by rote. In Western countries, the traditional breakfast has given way to an afternoon reception, at which the boy's presents are displayed. Orthodoxy knows of no counterpart to this ceremony in the case of a girl, but the Reformers have instituted confirmation services for girls, who are dressed for the occasion in a white frock, and in some countries also in a bridal wreath and train, and who receive gifts from relations and friends in honour of the event.

CHAPTER III

THE HOME : EXTERNAL FEATURES

The atmosphere in the home—Distinctive symbols—Pictures—Books—Kitchen arrangements—Dietary regulations—Peculiarities of the cuisine—The cuisine as a distinctive element in Jewish life—Distinctions of dress and of hair

THE essential qualities of Jewish life are seen in their purest and most intimate form in the privacy of the home. The atmosphere of a Jewish abode of the traditional type is diffused primarily by the precepts and practices of religion, which colour and control most of the daily activities of the Jew and surround him with concrete tokens of his faith. Many of his domestic customs and observances are prescribed in the *Shulchan Aruch*, the code of orthodoxy, and thus bear a religious impress ; but they are for the most part the social habits of a people which has preserved a distinct individuality through centuries of exile. This distinct individuality is embodied in matters both material and intellectual, such as the kitchen and table arrangements, food and dress, pictures and books, speech and song. It is found in the fullest degree in the communities of Eastern Europe, as well as in those Western centres where traditional orthodoxy still holds sway. But it appears in a very attenuated degree in the houses of a great and growing mass of Western Jews, who tend to suppress the signs and symbols of their Judaism and to mould their lives after the prevalent fashion. The picture that will be drawn here will be that of a home in which most of the salient features of traditional Jewish life find normal expression.

The first distinctive symbol greets one at the very

threshold, namely, the *Mezuzah* (lit., "door-post"), a small tubular case of wood or metal, fixed slantwise on the upper part of the right-hand door-post. The case contains a rolled piece of parchment on which are written Scriptural verses enjoining the love of God and obedience to His commandments (Deut. vi. 4-9, xi. 13-21), and there is a small opening showing the word *Shaddai* ("Almighty") written on the back of the scroll. This symbol is prescribed in the words: "And thou shalt write them on the door-posts of thy house, and upon thy gates" (Deut. vi. 9, xi. 20). It is fixed not only on the street door, but on the door of every living room in the house, and whenever the pious pass the *Mezuzah*, they touch it and kiss their fingers. The conforming Jew celebrates his entry into a new house by a religious ceremony of dedication, accompanied by a friendly reunion at which a Talmudical discourse is held. Sometimes he will leave an unpapered patch on one of the walls as a sign of grief for the destruction of Jerusalem, and he may nail a round piece of *Matzah* ("Passover cake") above the mantelpiece as a constant reminder of the Exodus (Deut. xvi. 3). Various articles for ritual purposes are also displayed—the glistening candlesticks to welcome Sabbaths and festivals, the plaited taper and artistically wrought spice-box used in the service for ushering them out, the goblet of gold or silver or baser metal for the benedictions over wine essential to these holy days, and the eight-branched candlestick for the Feast of Dedication (Chanukah). Another conspicuous feature is the charity-box nailed to the wall in aid either of local philanthropy, or one of the many charities in Palestine. In recent years the "Jewish National Fund" box, distributed by the Zionist Organization for the collection of money to buy land in Palestine, has also become a familiar object.

The walls are adorned with designs and pictures reflecting a cherished tradition or illustrating a hallowed scene or revered personality. A favourite design consists of two intertwined triangles, called the "Shield of David" (*Magen David*), and employed both in domestic and synagogue adornment. The usual decorations par-

ticularly in Eastern Europe, are legendary portraits of Moses and Aaron, crudely coloured views of Palestine, a permanent Hebrew calendar of perplexing elaborateness, a *Jahrzeit* tablet in simple black frame recording in Hebrew the anniversary of a parent's death, and a micrographic representation either of Moses with horned forehead, or of the Cave of Machpelah, or of some other revered person or place. Portraits of distinguished Rabbis and of eminent Jews who have laboured for the salvation of their people, such as Sir Moses Montefiore, Baron Maurice de Hirsch, and Dr. Theodor Herzl, likewise have an honoured place even in the humblest home; and the innate patriotism of the Jew finds expression even in the land of bondage, for in the abode of nearly every Russian Jew is a portrait of the Tsar. In Germany some of the most familiar pictures are scenes of Jewish domestic life and religious celebration drawn by the eighteenth-century artist Oppenheim, and in recent years there has been a steady increase of pictures portraying modern Jewish life in all its phases.

The books have also a character of their own. The nucleus of every library in a typical orthodox household is a Hebrew collection consisting primarily of prayer-books for various occasions and Pentateuchs, worn with use and seared with age. The usual edition of the Torah or Pentateuch is in five volumes, each containing the Aramaic Targum and an array of mediæval commentaries. The other Hebrew works are the Old Testament, the Talmud, the Mishnah, and the *Shulchan Aruch*, each in several volumes; whilst a larger collection will comprise books in every branch of theological lore and religious legislation. The favourite volume of the orthodox Jewess of Eastern Europe is a Yiddish paraphrase of the Pentateuch, called *Teutsch-Chumesh* or *Ze'enah Ure'enah*,¹ embodying many legends and homilies. There are also secular works in Hebrew and Yiddish comprising history, science, fiction, and poetry; whilst the library of the scholar also contains many modern scientific works in various languages on Jewish history, literature, theology, and sociology.

¹ Heb., "Go ye forth and see" (Canticles iii. 11).

A salient feature in the orthodox household consists of the arrangements in the kitchen, which are subject to special dietary laws. All meat foods must be kept strictly separate from milk-foods, as the contact of one with the other—such as meat with milk, butter, or cheese—would render both unfit for consumption. This regulation involves the use of two sets of utensils, both for cooking and eating, the one set being reserved for meat dishes, and the other for milk or butter dishes, and the crockery and cutlery of the one set being kept rigorously apart from those of the other. This separation of things *fleischig* ("meaty") from things *milchig* ("milky") is observed by the strict housewife in every conceivable direction: there are separate tablecloths and napkins, separate cruets, separate basins for washing the crockery, and separate towels for drying; and in more elaborate kitchens there are even separate cooking-ranges, dressers, and sinks. There is a special utensil for the preparation of meat, from which the blood must be drained in accordance with the Biblical command (Gen. ix. 4; Lev. iii. 17). It is a slanting board or piece of wicker-work, upon which the meat, after having been soaked in water half an hour, is besprinkled with salt; after another hour the salt is rinsed away, and the meat is ready for cooking. On the Feast of Passover special crockery and cutlery must be used, and as separate sets are necessary for meat and milk the orthodox household must be provided in all with four sets of cooking and eating vessels. The Passover sets are usually stored in some out-of-the-way place, where they are safe from contamination by anything "leavened," i.e. the customary food of the rest of the year.

The kitchen of the orthodox Jew is distinguished not only by the formal arrangements for storing, cooking, and eating food, but even more so by the nature of the food admitted. He strictly adheres to the prescriptions in the eleventh chapter of the Book of Leviticus as to the animals, birds, and fish that he may consume. He refrains from eating the flesh of any beasts except those that are cloven-

footed, and that chew the cud, and hence pork, bacon, and ham are taboo in his home. He refrains from eating any of the birds forbidden in that chapter, any fish that have not fins and scales, such as the eel, and "all creeping things that creep upon the earth," such as snails, oysters, crabs, and lobsters. It is not enough that the flesh which he eats is of beasts or birds that are permitted, but these must have been killed by Jewish slaughterers in accordance with the regulations of Rabbinic law (*Shechita*) in order that the meat shall be *kosher*. Hence the Jewish housewife must obtain her meat from a butcher licensed by the ecclesiastical authorities, and after bringing it home she must remove the blood in the manner described before cooking it. The law of *Shechita* applies only to cattle, beasts, and birds; there is no ordinance regarding the killing of fish, and hence the latter may be obtained from any purveyor. The strict housewife will also be particular about the fitness of the milk, butter, and cheese that she buys, and invariably procures them from a Jewish dairyman who holds a licence from the ecclesiastical authority, or upon whose scrupulous observance of the ritual law she can rely. Dairy produce from a non-Jewish purveyor may have come into contact with some forbidden matter, such as lard, or may have been conveyed in vessels ritually unclean, and hence it is suspect. A similar precaution is also taken in regard to bread and pastry, which must not be baked with forbidden fats: and hence the housewife will procure these commodities from a baker who observes the ritual law. In very orthodox centres the licensed baker affixes to each loaf a small label, which certifies to its being *kosher*, and states the name of the Rabbi responsible for its *kashrus*, whilst occasionally it even bears the baker's portrait and a registered number. The frugal housewife, however, bakes her own bread, at least two twisted loaves in honour of the Sabbath, and performs a deed of religious merit in sacrificing a handful of dough (*challah*) upon the fire, a survival of the offering made to the priest in Temple times (Num. xv. 20). The bread is baked either at home, or more often at the local baker's, and hence in Jewish districts on a Friday afternoon, or on the eve of a

festival, one may frequently see girls carrying home the Sabbath loaves in their aprons.

The peculiar dishes of most nations are largely determined by the natural products of the country, and by the taste formed by climatic conditions. The peculiar dishes of the Jewish cuisine are only partly determined by these circumstances : they have been mainly evolved by the elaborate legislation which prescribes what food is permitted, prohibits certain kinds of food at certain periods, and expressly forbids the act of cooking on the Sabbath. The eating of meat is subjected to more restrictions than any other commodity : the animal must be killed in accordance with Rabbinical law, the meat must be drained of its blood, and it must not be cooked with milk or butter. Moreover, during the first nine days of Ab (August) it may not be eaten at all, except on the Sabbath, as a token of grief for the destruction of Jerusalem. These restrictions have caused fish to become an article of very frequent consumption among even the poorest Jews, and it is recommended by the religious code as an essential dish on Sabbaths and festivals. Its popularity has tended to develop a fertile ingenuity in its preparation, the principal modes being frying, stewing, and "filling." The third mode (*gefüllter fisch*) is peculiar to the Jews of Eastern Europe : the fish is prepared very much like a rissole, except that the pieces are covered with the skin and cooked in boiling water. The most distinctive dish is that due to the inability to cook on the Sabbath and to the desire nevertheless to have hot food on that day. It is known as *shalet*, the virtues of which have been sung in a panegyric by Heine in his *Prinzessin Sabbath*. It consists usually of meat stewed with potatoes and fat, or with peas, beans, and barley. The pot containing it is generally put into another and larger pot containing hot water, and the whole is placed into the oven or upon the stove on Friday afternoon ; thus the dish requires no further attention, and it is quite hot enough when served for the midday meal on the Sabbath. The term *shalet*, which is prevalent in German-speaking countries, has undergone local variations,

being known as *sholent* or *tcholent* in Russia, and *shulet* in Bohemia. Its etymology has been explained in various fanciful ways, but the word is doubtless derived from the Old French *chauld* ("warm"), and thus points to the ancient origin of the popular dish. A common form of *shalet* is known as *kugel*, a kind of pudding, in which flour, fat, and raisins are usual ingredients. The law that has evolved this peculiar dish is also responsible for the extensive use of the samovar in orthodox homes. Water may not be boiled nor tea brewed on the Sabbath, but if the tea is prepared in the samovar before the incoming of the Sabbath, and a cup therefrom drunk, the beverage may be kept hot throughout the holy day without any infringement of the law. The various kinds of soups prepared by the Jewish housewife are also distinctive. The commonest is that served with *lokshen*, long strips of dough made of flour and eggs, like macaroni. The strips are sometimes cut into small squares, which are known as *farfil*. There is also a variety of sour soups, called *borschtsh*, the most popular of which are made of beetroot mixed with the yolk of eggs.

A peculiar aspect of the cuisine consists in the fact that special dishes are sacred to certain festivals or seasons of the year. The most important instance is the Feast of Passover, upon which no leavened bread may be eaten. The unleavened bread, in the form of large, thin, round biscuits, is not only a staple article of diet, but also an ingredient in most of the other dishes of the Passover week. The unleavened bread is ground into meal, with which little dumplings, called *kneidlach* (Ger., *knödel*) or *matzakeis*, are made and eaten with soup; and the meal is also the chief ingredient in various sorts of puddings and pancakes. A dish sacred to three occasions in the year—the Feast of Purim, the eve of the Day of Atonement, and the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles—is known as *kreplech*, consisting of little triangular meat-patties served with soup. Another delicacy peculiar to Purim is the *Haman-Tasche*, a kind of turnover filled with honey and black poppy-seed. On the day preceding the Fast of Ab the conventional dish is *milchige lokshen*, home-made macaroni boiled in milk;



SABBATH IN A RUSSIAN HOME
FROM THE PAINTING BY SAMUEL HIRSZENBERG

and on the Feast of Chanukah (in December) the special dainties are pancakes, called *latkies*, and fried scraps of the skin of a fowl, known as *gribenes*.

The foregoing description is merely a summary of the peculiarities of Jewish cookery, but it suffices to show that the cuisine in Jewry is as distinctive an element in its social life as in that of any nation living in a land of its own. Apart from his own peculiar dishes, the observant Jew also adopts those of his native country so far as they can be allowed by his dietary laws, and he imports them into any land to which he may emigrate. Thus, in the Jewish quarter of a Western city, one may see displayed in the shop-windows the large dark-brown loaves reminiscent of the Russian Pale, the kegs of olives, cucumbers and gherkins that hail from Holland, and the tureens of sauerkraut and variegated sausages that owe their origin to Germany. But he who has departed from the religion of his forefathers is prone to adopt the cuisine of his environment without reserve, and to indulge in all the forbidden meats that are anathema to the faithful. The disregard of the dietary laws, as a rule, is no sudden process, but undergoes a sort of development often occupying three or four generations, the first generation being merely lax about the dietary laws without committing any wilful transgression, the second disregarding the laws about the preparation of permitted meat and the mixture of meat and butter, the third indulging in forbidden dishes only at restaurants, and the fourth introducing them upon the table at home.

Outward distinction of dress is confined to countries which are either geographically or morally Eastern. In Poland and Galicia the Jews cling with religious devotion to the sixteenth-century Polish costume of the long gaberdine, tied round with a girdle, and the round fur hat. Even boys of a tender age wear the gaberdine, while instead of the fur hat they have a peculiar cap with a glazed peak. The well-to-do members of the community honour the Sabbath and festivals with a gaberdine of silk or satin and a hat of the finest fur ; but there is no local variation in the costume of the Jewish women in those districts. There are certain

distinctions in regard to dress, however, which are observed by orthodox Jews in all parts of the world. They will not wear a garment made of the mixed fabric forbidden by the Mosaic law and known as *shaatnez*, such as a mixture of linen and wool (Lev. xix. 19). Under their vest they wear a small praying-shawl (*Talith katon*) in the shape of a chest-protector, made of cotton or wool, with a woollen fringe inserted in each of the four corners and arranged according to special regulations elaborated by the Rabbis from the Pentateuch (Num. xv. 37-41). This garment is also called *arba kanfoth* ("four corners"), or, more popularly still, *zizith* ("fringes"), and it is worn by a boy from his earliest years. The pious Jew regards it as irreverent to be bareheaded, and hence always wears a skull-cap at home, a custom rendered further necessary by frequent prayers and sacred study, for both of which the head must be covered. To prevent the possibility of being bareheaded even for a moment he wears the skull-cap throughout the day and places over it his hat for outdoor wear when he leaves the house.

Law and custom also regulate the dressing of the hair in orthodox circles. The Mosaic prohibition of shaving, - in Lev. xix. 27 ("Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard"), is rigidly upheld, but is regarded as applying only to the operation with a razor. Those who wish to remove the hair without infringing the law use scissors, clippers, or a chemical depilatory; but the complete removal of the beard, by whatever means, is regarded by staunch adherents of orthodoxy as a revolt from Rabbinical Judaism. In many parts of Eastern Europe, particularly Russia and Galicia, the hair is allowed to grow on both sides of the head and to hang down in curls or ringlets, in strict conformity with the Levitical rule. In 1845 Nicholas I of Russia decreed that his Jewish subjects should discard this custom, together with their Polish costume; but ear-locks (*peoth*) are still worn extensively in Eastern Europe, even by boys of a tender age, and they may be seen adorning the cheeks of pious Jews from the East who have migrated to a Western

city. Married women are required by Rabbinical law not to expose their hair, on pain of being regarded wanton. Hence orthodox Jewesses after marriage wear a wig which completely covers their hair, while in the Orient they don a kerchief. In the Western world, however, both men and women for the most part disregard these customs and follow the local fashion.

CHAPTER IV

HOME LIFE AND CUSTOMS

The formative forces in home life—The religious factor in the daily regimen—Preparations for the Sabbath—At home on Friday night—The Sabbath day—Festival observances : Passover—Tabernacles—Other feasts—Fasts—Historical and local factors—The position of woman—Linguistic features—Last scene of all

THE conditions and character of home life are determined by three main forces. The first consists of religious regulations, the second of historical development, and the third of local environment. The religious regulations are those embodied in the *Shulchan Aruch* (" Table Prepared "), the digest compiled by Rabbi Joseph Caro in the sixteenth century upon the basis of the Talmud and its many commentaries. This mediæval code controls and colours every movement in the daily life of the orthodox Jew ; it governs every step in his earthly pilgrimage from the cradle to the grave. It prescribes with elaborate minuteness the varied observances for Sabbaths, feasts, and fasts, the customs and ceremonies for the principal events of human life, the relations that should prevail between husband and wife, between man and his neighbours. Prayer, diet, dress, charity, morality, and the functions of nature are all subjects of precise regulation. The *Shulchan Aruch* has thus imparted a fundamental uniformity to the scattered communities which would else have become diversified by local conditions, though its authority is no longer recognized so universally, nor are its ordinances followed so scrupulously as in days gone by. The historic factor in domestic life has arisen from the growth and experiences of the community ; it comprises social con-

ventions, pastimes, folk-lore, and the peculiar amenities of family life. It prevails mostly in the old-established settlements in Eastern Europe, but on being transplanted by emigrants to the lands of the West it is gradually dissolved in an alien atmosphere. The influence of local environment is naturally restricted in point of extent, but it operates with a growing degree of intensity, for throughout the lands of the West, and in a lesser degree even in the East, local habits and fashions tend to invade the home and to compete with the characteristic features of historic Judaism, triumphing over them where no conscious resistance is offered.

The preceding chapters have already afforded illustrations of the religious factors in home life, but they form only a fraction of the rites and observances that endow it with its specific character. Let us follow the daily movements of a conforming Jew, as enjoyed by the *Shulchan Aruch*, which prescribes that he shall utter a hundred benedictions a day. No sooner does he wake in the morning than he pours water three times over each hand, for his hands are regarded as ritually unclean after the night's sleep, and he may not touch his face nor walk more than "four cubits" (about six feet) before performing the ablution. Nor may he walk beyond this limit with uncovered head or without wearing his garment of fringes, for he must ever be filled with a feeling of reverence for the Creator. The first important duty of the day is to offer up his prayers, but before he may do this he must cleanse himself by discharging his natural functions and bless the Creator for having fashioned him with the organs necessary for health. He then completes his toilet and proceeds from cleanliness to godliness. If he can he attends morning service in the synagogue and hurries thither to symbolize his zeal; otherwise he offers up his prayers at home, together with his sons. For twenty minutes or half an hour the room has the appearance of a miniature synagogue, the worshippers wearing the *talith* ("praying-shawl") and *tephillin* ("phylacteries") and voicing their Hebrew prayers in a quaint traditional cadence.

Only after completing his devotions may he take his

breakfast, which, like every other meal, is attended with a ritual of benediction. He pours water three times over his hands, and while drying them blesses "the King of the Universe, who hath sanctified us with His commandments, and commanded us to cleanse the hands." He then says grace before meat: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who bringest forth bread from the earth," and breaks bread. Brief as is this grace before the meal, that which comes after it is appreciably long, and then the members of the family disperse to their various occupations. In the Western world, where trains wait for no man, the morning devotions and grace are often sadly mutilated by the necessity of punctuality at office, factory, or school, but a compensating leisureliness may be observed in the devotions of the evening. An orthodox Jew tries to attend the evening service at the synagogue not alone because of the religious virtue attaching thereto, but also because he may join a class of amateur students—tradesmen, artisans, pedlars, and the like—in their nightly study of the Talmud under the guidance of the Rabbi. But even if he should be unable to go to the house of prayer, he will never fail in his devotions at home, and he will round off the programme of the day by studying a page of the Talmud, uttering the complicated argument in a peculiar chant-like air in the midst of the family circle. His leisure moments are devoted to the reading of Hebrew works, primarily those of religious lore, and he always finds time to con a newspaper, being as interested in international as in purely local affairs. Before retiring to bed he offers up a night-prayer in which he fervently declares: "Into Thy hand I commit my spirit. Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, God of truth," and thrice repeats: "Behold, the Guardian of Israel neither slumbereth nor sleepeth."

The preparations for the Sabbath day are important not only because honour must be shown to it by special dishes, but still more because no cooking may be done on that day; and hence the Jewish housewife is busy marketing, cooking, and cleaning from Thursday morning till the setting of the sun on the following day. The kitchen

presents a scene of bustle ; there is the baking of the twisted loaves, sprinkled with poppy-seed in memory of the ancient manna, and of a large family cake ; the chopping of fish to make the boiled rissoles known as *gefüllter fisch*, and the frying in oil of other fish ; the preparing of the *lockschen* or macaroni for soup ; the plucking of a hen, killed by a ritual slaughterer, and its disembowelling, salting, and cooking ; and finally the cooking of the all-important *Shalet*. Add to these the sweets and sauces which the ingenuity of a diligent housewife may provide, and remember the rigid separation she must observe between meat and butter, and then one may acquire some notion of her task in preparing an orthodox welcome for the "Sabbath bride." The course of her labours may be suddenly interrupted by the discovery of a pin in the bowels of the hen, or some other ritual blemish, whereupon she must send the fowl to the Rabbi to inquire whether it is *kosher*. An adverse decision causes only passing irritation, for much more serious than the sacrifice of the fowl would have been the sin of eating it ; and, besides, the forbidden bird can be sold to a Gentile neighbour. The housewife may also be interrupted by the calls of poor women, begging for the wherewithal to celebrate the Sabbath, and she gives them each a couple of candles to light in honour of the holy day. In addition to cooking there is the work of cleaning and dusting to make the house look bright and festive : the Sabbath candlesticks, the cutlery, and the boots all receive a vigorous polish. In many a humble home these arduous preparations have to be carried out alone by the zealous housewife, burdened perchance with the cares of infant children, though her husband accounts it a religious virtue to help. He distils the raisin wine for the sanctification of the Sabbath, brews the tea in the samovar, and drinks the first cup so that he and his family may lawfully enjoy the hot beverage during the day of rest. So absorbing are these various tasks—for no work of any kind may be done from sunset on Friday for the next twenty-four hours—that there is hardly time to eat ; and indeed the upholders of tradition designedly eat little

during the day so that they may develop a keen appetite for the evening repast. The conforming Jew also takes a hot bath, trims his hair, pares his nails, and dons his best clothes. With a feeling of relief the mistress of the house applies herself to her final duty—the decking of the table. She covers it with a white linen cloth, places at the head the two twisted loaves, symbolical of the double portion of manna gathered in the Wilderness of Sinai on the Sabbath eve, and covers them with a fancy cloth, generally of dark red velvet with a Hebrew design or benediction embroidered in yellow. She puts the bottle of raisin wine or some superior decoction near the bread, and the candlesticks of brass or copper or silver, sometimes two and sometimes four, containing wax candles, at the opposite end. Then she lights the wicks, and covering her eyes with her palms she offers up the Hebrew prayer: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us with His commandments and commanded us to kindle the Sabbath light." Thus she welcomes the day of rest, and with her daughters she awaits the return of her husband and sons from the synagogue, whither they have gone to join in the service of psalmody from which naught but sickness can excuse their absence.

An air of peace and contentment fills even the humblest home on Friday night. The snow-white cloth, illumined by the sacred lights and adorned with the velvet mantle of the twin loaves and the wine of sanctification, changes the lowly abode into a place of delight, from which all the toil and turmoil of the week are banished: the genial scene is infused with a spiritual glow and touched with an Eastern glamour. Amid joyous greetings of "Good Sabbath!" the husband and sons are welcomed home, and the ties of family affection are drawn still closer by poetic ceremonial. The father, placing his hands on the heads of his children, pronounces a blessing in Biblical diction, invoking the favour of God to make his sons "like Ephraim and Manasseh," and his daughters like "Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah." And he sings the praises of his wife in the glowing panegyric of the Book of Proverbs (xxx.),

fashioned as an acrostic on the Hebrew alphabet, to a traditional air : " A virtuous woman who can find ? for her price is far above rubies." And then, the family gathered round the table, he recites the sanctification over the wine, in which he recalls how God " rested on the seventh day from all His work which He had made, and God blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it." He drinks of the wine, and passes the cup round the table ; and after laving his hands in the ritual manner and saying grace, he cuts one of the loaves and distributes a piece to all present. The family circle often includes a poor stranger, a Sabbath guest, who has been invited home from synagogue in accordance with the ethical precept of " hospitality to wayfarers." The guest is soon put at his ease and joins in the conversation, and if he be a Russian or Rumanian immigrant seeking asylum in a Western land, he regales his hosts with stories of his sad experiences. Between the courses there is a brief interlude for the singing of hymns, with spirited refrains, which proclaim the duties and pleasures of Sabbath observance. Grace after meat is recited with many melodious passages, in some of which the whole company joins, and the house is filled with the joyous strains of Hebrew minstrelsy. Presently the sound of sacred song is heard again, for the father of the household chants the current portion of the Pentateuch to a quaint Oriental air, in which his sons occasionally join.

It is the one night of the week when, in many circles, all the members of the family gather together to indulge in the pleasures of conversation. They may not perform on a musical instrument or smoke, but they may diversify the evening by a game of chess, though as a rule the conversation is sustained with sufficient vigour to dispense with adventitious pastimes. Even in homes where the ritual of the Sabbath is not strictly kept, the night is regarded as sacred to domestic intercourse, and the family circle is not broken up even by the most tempting attractions outside. For the orthodox visits to places of public amusement are out of the question, as they would involve the handling of money, and perhaps the use of a vehicle, both acts that are

forbidden on the sacred day. But those who are keen upon seeing a play avoid transgressing the letter of the law by booking seats in advance and walking to and from the theatre, although conscious that they are departing from the traditional observance of the day. They, however, who remain at home help to conserve the spirit of the ages, the genius of the Sabbath as celebrated in diverse climes through the changing centuries. Nought can compare with the feeling of cheerfulness and intimacy that fills the peaceful household on this night, the hallowed candles shedding their beaming rays and making playful shadows, the samovar steaming invitingly on the table, and the ambrosial fragrance of the morrow's *shalet* diffusing a sense of delicious contentment. And in harmony with the genial scene is the theme of conversation, parents telling their children tales of the olden days when Israel had a kingdom of his own, or of the mediæval times when he was doomed to the dungeon and the stake, or stories of the wise men in the past ; or the older members of the group may engage in a discussion on a Talmudical problem or the destinies of their people, all heedless of which the youngsters slowly drop off to sleep. And the pleasant discourse flows on unruffled until the servant enters to put out the lights, for no Jew may kindle or extinguish fire on the holy day (Ex. xxxv. 3). But the Sabbath candles must not be touched : they are left to burn unto the end, and the conversation is often continued until the last feeble flicker of the dying wick leaves all in the gloom that enwraps the future.

The prohibition to handle fire on the Sabbath has produced a special character, the *Shabbos-goyah* or "Sabbath Gentile," who, in houses where there is no non-Jewish servant, attends to the lights and fires and performs any other domestic work forbidden to the Jew. These functions are usually discharged by the charwoman who has helped in the preparations earlier in the day ; but there are hundreds of thousands of homes where even a charwoman on a week-day is a luxury. But on the Sabbath Gentile assistance is necessary for all who would keep the Law,

and hence even the poorest home cannot dispense with a "fire-woman," as she is called in English parlance. The "fire-woman" usually looks after a number of houses in the same district, and her charge, which is called "fire-money," is quite moderate, amounting to only a few pence for the day.

Early on the Sabbath morning the observant Jew wends his way to synagogue, to attend a service that lasts from two to three hours. He goes breakfastless, for he may eat no food until he has offered up his prayers; the only refreshment he takes is a glass of tea from the inexhaustible samovar. As it is almost noon before he is home again, he often combines breakfast with dinner, eating the joint repast with becoming leisureliness, and chanting with contentment the Sabbath hymns after consuming the succulent *shalet*. In the afternoon he indulges in a nap, examines the progress of his young sons in their Hebrew studies, and very often listens to a long Talmudical discourse, which follows the afternoon service in the synagogue. Morning sermons are not the fashion in his house of prayer, for no *Derasha* ("discourse") worthy of the name can be delivered under an hour and a half, and to prolong the morning service to such an extent would arouse the pangs of hunger even among the most zealous, and so violate the tranquil spirit of the day. Even if there be no Talmudic homily to detain him, he often lingers in the house of prayer to engage in mundane converse until the concluding prayers of the Sabbath at sunset, for to him and all his circle the synagogue is also a social rendezvous. But in the long summer afternoons he returns home to take a third meal, for the code ordains that he shall eat three meals in honour of the Sabbath, a sumptuary law which he will not willingly transgress.

When the final service of the day, begun in the thickening shadows and concluded amid the lighting of lamps, is over, he wends his way home, greets the family with *Gut Woch* ("Good week"), and ushers out the sacred day with the ceremony of *Habdalah* ("Separation") just enacted in the synagogue, which indicates the transition to the working

day. He pours wine into a cup, lets it flow over to symbolize the Divine bounty which he wishes to enjoy in the coming week, and utters a benediction. He takes a spice-box, shakes it, and inhales the pungent fragrance, to typify the "additional soul" with which the Sabbath, according to tradition, has endowed him. He places his hands against a plaited wax-light, generally held by a younger son (who is jestingly admonished to hold it higher if he desires a tall bride), and bending the fingers inwards, he marks the contrast between the shadow within and the light without and blesses "the Creator of the light of fire." And in a closing benediction he blesses the King of the Universe for having made a distinction "between the holy and the profane, between light and darkness, between Israel and the nations, between the seventh day and the six days of creation." He sips the wine and passes it round to the males¹; he extinguishes the taper in the ruddy overflow in the plate. The day of rest is over and the week of work has begun again, and he meets its cares and troubles with a lilting hymn and a glad refrain :

"He who profane from holy parts,
Our sins He will forgive;
Our seed, our means He will increase
Like sand, like stars of night.

My voice, let not be turned aside;
The gate of favour ope.
My head with dew doth overflow,
My locks with drops of night.

Lord, in Thine hand we are like clay;
Forgive the light and grave.
For speech day utters unto day,
And night to ev'ry night."

Life in the home presents the same general features on festivals as on the Sabbath, with differences of ceremonial and diet due to each special occasion. The most striking differences are those connected with the Feast of Passover and Tabernacles, which are both observed

¹ Women do not partake of the wine of *Habdalah*, as they are supposed to have less personal interest in the resumption of work.



THE TERMINATION OF THE SABBATH
FROM AN ETCHING BY HERMANN STRUCK

with rites in which historic memories, poetic symbolism, and religious legalism are all intertwined. Passover involves a culinary revolution, for all leavened food must be removed from the house, the crockery and cutlery used throughout the year must be replaced by the special sets reserved for the festival, and a staple factor of the week's diet is the brittle unleavened bread first baked by the Israelites on their flight from Egypt. The distinguishing feature of the celebration, which is peculiarly rich in picturesque ceremonial, is the service of praise and prayer offered up on the first two nights around the festive table, upon which, beside the gleaming candles, are the dishes that symbolize the Egyptian bondage and the Divine redemption. The Sabbath loaves are replaced by three cakes of unleavened bread, representing the "bread of affliction." A bowl of bitter herbs recalls the bitterness of the Pharaonic oppression; a pasty confection of almonds and spices, into which the bitter herbs are dipped before they are eaten, typifies the mortar wherewith the cities of Pithom and Rameses were built; the shankbone of a lamb represents the Paschal offering of Temple days; and a roasted egg stands for the private offering made by every Jew on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem three times a year in the romantic past. And before each member of the family group is a glass of wine which must be filled and emptied four times at fixed intervals in the service, in memory of the fourfold utterance in which the Almighty announced the redemption.¹ An extra cup of wine is kept ready for any possible guest, and is called "the cup of Elijah," as the guest most desired is Elijah, the fore-runner of the Messiah.

The prayers narrate the history of the departure from Egypt and explain the meaning of the several rites connected with the celebration, and hence they are called *Haggadah* ("recital"). The order of the service is known

¹ Ex. vi. 6, 7: "And I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage, and I will redeem you with a stretched out arm, and with great judgements: and I will take you to me for a people."

as *Seder* or "Order," and the first two evenings of Passover are called "*Seder* evenings." This domestic celebration is in many cases the only occasion of a family reunion throughout the year, and thus serves other than purely religious objects; whilst the interest of the children is aroused by assigning to the youngest present the duty of asking four questions in regard to the distinguishing features of the evening.

It is the custom on the Feast of Tabernacles to live as much as possible in a tabernacle or booth for seven days, in memory of the tents in which the children of Israel dwelt during their wanderings in the wilderness. The booth is a small temporary structure of wood, built generally at the back of the house, with a roof of rushes that lets in the daylight. The duty of "dwelling" therein is interpreted by staunch pietists to include not only eating but sleeping; but as the festival falls at the end of September, when cold nights in the Western world would make sleep in such an abode uncomfortable, the great majority of the orthodox fold are content simply to have their meals and receive their friends there. The booth is generally home-made, and all members of the family, especially the younger ones, take a delight in helping in its erection. The interior is decorated with pictures, religious emblems and Hebrew mottoes, and from the roof hang clusters of fruit, which give to the rude structure the appearance of a rustic bower in an Eastern land, and recall "the feast of ingathering" in ancient Palestine which the festival also commemorates. At nightfall, when the booth is lit up by the candles that have been blessed by the housewife, and the family are gathered around the table, the pious paterfamilias raises his voice in tuneful melody as he intones the sanctification over the wine, quickly to be followed by his neighbours in the tabernacles near by, and thus a chorus of Hebrew thanksgiving rises unto the star-lit heavens throughout the globe four thousand years after the wandering tribe dwelt in booths in the Wilderness of Sinai.

The other festivals have also a domestic side to their

observance, though not to such an impressive extent. Pentecost, the second of the three pilgrim feasts, is the least endowed with special ceremonial: the only custom is that of sitting up the greater part of the first night and reading passages from the Scriptures and the Talmud, for the festival commemorates the giving of the Law. New Year is the occasion for an effusive exchange of friendly wishes, which are communicated in Western lands largely through the medium of private cards and the columns of the Press; whilst the festive repast is begun with a sweet apple dipped in honey, to typify the year of sweetness for which everybody prays. The final meal on the Eve of the Day of Atonement is consumed with an air of solemnity, the grace being uttered in a tearful voice; whilst the fast is broken with a meal accompanied by every sign of joy and festivity. The Feast of Dedication (Chanukah), which commemorates the victory of the Maccabees over the Syrians, is a feast of light and song, which makes a potent appeal to children. On the first night one light, and on each succeeding evening a further light must be kindled, so that a row of eight beaming lights illumines the home on the last night; and the children, who have helped in the kindling, join in the gleeful hymn which tells of the re-dedication of the Temple after its pollution by the Syrian foe. Spending-money (*Chanukah Geld*) is given to the youngsters, who also demand a similar bounty on Purim (*Purim Geld*), wherewith to celebrate the downfall of Haman with fitting rejoicing. The latter festival is the occasion, particularly in Eastern Europe, of amateur theatricals, the favourite performance being a Hebrew or Yiddish play, with Esther and Mordecai as the heroes and Haman as the villain. A simpler form of entertainment is provided by two or three minstrels, who generally go in some sort of disguise from house to house, fiddling and singing all manner of merry songs. Three-cornered turnovers filled with honey and black poppy-seed, and known as *Hamantaschen*, are eaten; modest gifts are exchanged between friends in accordance with the custom prescribed in the Book of Esther; and

the youngsters make a rollicking din with their rattles to proclaim anew the discomfiture of the wicked Haman. It is an occasion when merry-making amounts to a duty, and a liberal indulgence in strong drink is even recommended by the orthodox code, a counsel faithfully adopted by those who would make a virtue of their failings.

The fasts of the calendar likewise find external expression in the home, since no food or drink may be taken by anybody above the age of thirteen, the year in which religious responsibility is attained. The house is often closed on the Day of Atonement, for the whole family are in the synagogue from early morn till sunset. On the four fast days kept in commemoration of events connected with the fall of Jerusalem (Zech. viii. 19) the Jew may attend to his ordinary work, and the home almost presents its usual aspect, save for the absence of meals. But on the ninth of Ab (August), the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple, he may not wear boots or shoes of leather, nor greet his friends, in token of the sadness of the day.

Prominent as these national and religious anniversaries are in moulding and colouring home life in Jewry, they do not dominate it to the exclusion of other factors, for there are also features due to historical development and local environment. To the former category belong the peculiarities of language employed by Jews, their peculiar greetings, expletives, idioms, proverbs, folk-songs—all the elements of the distinctive culture evolved through the centuries. The features due to local environment are as varied as the environments themselves. They prevail predominantly, but not exclusively, in Western lands, and in proportion as they invade and dominate the Jewish home, the latter loses its distinctive character.

The home is the dominion of the Jewish woman : hers is the duty of safeguarding its purity religiously, morally, and ritually, a task which demands unceasing vigilance and leaves little leisure for extra-domestic labours. The Jewish woman is trained in the ways of modesty and taught that chastity is the highest virtue. This lesson is enforced upon the eve of marriage by the custom of replacing her

maiden tresses by a matronly wig, to avert admiration from any other but her husband. Even before marriage she may not be in the company of men, except under the closest chaperonage, and at social gatherings she and her sisters must entertain themselves in one room, whilst the men are in another. She dances with her own sex too, or if she dances with a man she may not touch his hand, but holds one end of a handkerchief while he holds another, and thus they trip it decorously. This rigorous separation of the sexes prevails only in certain circles in Russia, Galicia, and the lands of the East, though even in Western countries the pious look askance at social intercourse between men and women. But the tendency to discard these habits of the Orient is steadily progressing. The Jewish woman upon marriage abandons any occupation she may have followed for a living, in order to devote herself completely to her wifely duties; and if her husband be too poor to allow this sacrifice she gives up her work at least as soon as she looks forward to motherhood. Her natural instinct to give utterance to her emotions in song is discouraged by the puritanical rule of the Talmud: "A voice in a woman is lewdness," but it is too strong and primeval to be suppressed by law. She sings lullabies and folk-songs, simple Yiddish compositions that have all the qualities of popular ballads, inspired by traditional ideals and echoing with national sorrows. She sings to her baby-boy of the study of the Torah and the pursuit of trade, the twin ideal of the Eastern Jew; and croons over her baby-girl a ditty in which she pictures her already as a mother, revealing the insistent sense of maternity that animates the women of her race. No insipid rhymes about mythical monsters are her cradle-songs, but serious reflections on daily life.

"A little while together we will play,
And then to school the child must quickly go,
Where he will learn the Torah's happy way,
And good reports to us will daily flow."

Thus from the cradle does the child inhale a spirit of earnestness.

This distinctive influence of the nursery prevails only in those communities that have evolved a specifically Jewish culture, namely, in the East, whilst it has extended to the Western Ghettos to which this culture is transplanted. It is part of the general intellectual atmosphere, of which the language spoken, whether Yiddish or Ladino, with all its peculiarities of speech and current idioms, forms so important an element. For the Jew born and bred in the strongholds of Jewish tradition has his own individual way of expressing himself, his own peculiar greetings, oaths, and proverbs. He has a primitive mode of nomenclature, addressing his neighbours by their forename, with a title of respect, such as "Reb Samuel" (Mr. Samuel —) or "Reb David," or denominating them by some physical or social characteristic such as "the red Michael," "the tall Archik," "the Lomzha Melammed" (teacher), or "Chaye die Shmaye" (the gossip). If he is ignorant of a man's name he addresses him simply as "*Landsmann*" (countryman) or, somewhat whimsically, as "*Reb Yid*" (Mr. Jew). His time-honoured Hebrew greeting is "*Shalom aleichem*" (Peace unto you), to which his friend responds with "*Aleichem shalom.*" But this salutation is generally used only upon seeing a friend after a long absence, the more customary greeting being in Yiddish: "*Was macht ihr?*" (How are you?). "Good day" and "Good evening" have their literal equivalents, "*a guten Tog*," "*a guten Ovend*" (Ger. *Abend*), though the latter are often shortened to simply "*a guten!*" On the Sabbath the greeting is "*Gut Shabbos*" (Good Sabbath), or among the Sephardim, "*Shabbat Shalom*" (A Sabbath of peace); on the festivals, "*Gut Yomtov*" (Good holy day); and at the close of Sabbaths and festivals, "*Gut Woch*" (Good week). Should a person visit his friend whilst the latter is seated at table, he exclaims in Hebrew: "Blessed is he that sitteth!" and should one of them sneeze, the other calls out, "*Asusah*" or "*Zu Gesund*" (Good health!). The usual formula of congratulation is "*Mazzol Tov!*" (Good luck), while in drinking a toast the wish expressed is "*Lechayim!*" (For life). These are but the commonest

forms of greeting in the course of daily conversation, which contains a multitude of idioms.

We come now to the last scene of all, and the panorama of domestic life will be complete. The Jew beholds the approach of the shadow of Death into his home with poignant grief, for his family affection is strong and deep-rooted. He does not lightly reconcile himself to the loss of his flesh and blood; he offers up Psalms in a wailing voice by the bedside or in an adjoining room, hoping that the Almighty will hear and have mercy. He selects verses from the alphabetical Ps. cxix. that correspond to the letters of the name of the stricken one, believing that this acrostic of propitiation will work with potent charm. And when he sees that the breath grows feebler, and the deathly pallor deeper, and that all hope is vain, he utters the declaration of faith for the dying to repeat: "*Shema*—Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one. Blessed be the name of His glorious Kingdom for ever and ever. The Lord, He is God. The Lord, He is God." For some moments he refrains from touching the body, to make sure that life is extinct, and then he closes the eyes and covers the face of the dead. He makes a rent in his garment, as also do the other members of the family, and all who hear of the sad news respond: "Blessed be the true Judge." The body is washed by the members of a "Holy Brotherhood" with traditional rites, and a *talith* ("praying-shawl")—symbol of the faith of the synagogue—is wrapped around it before it is laid into the coffin. Many relatives and friends join in the funeral procession, for to accompany the dead to their last resting-place is a deed of enduring merit. An oil-wick is lit in memory of the soul that has fled, and is kept alight for a whole week. When the mourners return home the father and brothers of the departed, first laving their hands before entering, exchange their leathern footgear for slippers of cloth, and sit on low stools in token of sorrow. They break their fast with a modest meal of bread and hard-boiled eggs, which typify by their lack of an opening the sealed lips of the mourner. The frugal repast is prepared by a neighbour, for the

mourners may not eat of their own cooking at the first meal after the burial. For seven days (*Shiva*) they sit at home and mourn, abstaining from work and even from a careful toilet. Three times a day they hold divine service, in which friends and members of their synagogue join, and they offer up the prayer of *Kaddish* ("sanctification") in honour of the memory of the departed. They study the pages of Holy Writ, above all the Book of Job, to solace their grief, and of an evening the Rabbi expounds a page of the Talmud or a chapter of the Scriptures to the friends who come to console and remain to pray. "May the Omnipresent comfort you among the rest of the mourners of Zion and Jerusalem!" is the consolation uttered by visitors as they leave the house, the words in which the precentor on the Sabbath eve welcomes the mourners back to the synagogue. And whenever the name of the dead is mentioned henceforth it is coupled with the pious invocation: "Peace upon him!" and upon every anniversary of the event (*Jahrzeit*) an oil-wick is lit in the home and the *Kaddish* prayer is offered up by the nearest relative in the synagogue.

CHAPTER V

PHILANTHROPY

"For the poor shall never cease out of the land : therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt open thine hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor, and to thy needy, in thy land."—DEUT. XV. 11.

Charity a basic principle of Jewish life—Administration in ancient and mediæval times—Modern principles of administration—Local organizations—Methods of relief—Personal service—The financial burden—Orphanages, hospitals, and almshouses—The relief of Eastern Jewry—Emigration and exceptional calamities

THE practice of charity is a basic principle of Jewish life, and forms a prominent feature of every communal organization. Ordained in the Pentateuch as a commandment, and emphasized throughout the Bible as a social duty, the relief of the poor has from the earliest times always received the ready aid of the individual and the zealous care of the community. In all the centuries of gloom and oppression that have lain so heavily upon the people of Israel, the cry of the needy has never failed to be heard. Wealth was considered as a trust from God, of which a just stewardship required the giving of a portion to the poor who stood under His especial protection. The corner of the field, the gleanings of the harvest, the forgotten sheaf, and the growth of the seventh year, were all, according to the law of Moses, to be left to the poor. The lofty place accorded to charity in the Jewish scale of ethical virtues is best attested by its Hebrew equivalent, *zedakah*, which means "righteousness." The giving of alms formed the supreme factor of a righteous life in ancient Israel, and many were

the Biblical maxims that were interpreted by the sages of the Talmud in this sense, and many the doctrines and parables uttered by them in enforcement of the virtue. "Righteousness delivereth from death" (Prov. xi. 4) meant "Charity delivereth from death," an interpretation that found expression in the custom that still prevails of collecting alms at a funeral in a box styled "the *zedakah* box." The potency thus ascribed to charity is also proclaimed in pregnant terms in the synagogue ritual of the New Year and Day of Atonement: "Repentance, prayer, and charity avert the evil decree," a doctrine that still produces an effusive display of benevolence on the eve of those solemn festivals. Nor is it enough merely to give alms, but personal kindness must also be shown, as in hospitality to wayfarers, visiting the sick, and dowering the bride. So highly was the attribute of personal kindness esteemed by the Rabbis of ancient times that, according to Simon the Just,¹ it formed with the Torah and divine worship the tripod upon which the world rested. Moreover, it is the kindness shown in bestowing alms which, according to another sage, decides a man's final reward.² The particular needs of the poor must be studied and suitably relieved—such was the meaning of the Psalmist in declaring: "Blessed is he that considereth the poor" (xli. 2). The feelings of the poor man must also be respected, and hence "giving in secret" is the most estimable method of help.

Charity became a matter of public administration in Jewry in the earliest centuries of the Christian era, and the following branches of benevolent activity are enumerated in Rabbinical literature³: feeding the hungry and giving the thirsty to drink, clothing the naked, visiting the sick, burying the dead and comforting the mourners, redeeming the captives, educating the fatherless and sheltering the homeless, and providing poor maidens with dowries. In every community there was a charity-box (*kuppah*) from which every Friday doles were given to

¹ *Aboth.*, i. 2.

² *Succah*, 49b.

³ *Moed Kat.*, 27b; *Semahot*, xii.

the poor of the town for their meals during the following week and for clothing, and likewise to needy wayfarers ; and there was also a charity-bowl (*tamhui*) containing victuals needed for immediate relief. The funds for the charity-box were collected by two trustworthy men, and administered by three overseers, styled *gabba'e zedakah* or *parnassim* (from *πρωτοος*), who were chosen from the foremost members of the community and who once included in their number the martyr Rabbi Akiba.¹ The overseers of the poor, anticipating the methods of a modern charity board, decided upon the merits and claims of the applicants before granting them aid : a woman was given precedence before a man, and a student of the law before an ignoramus, whilst care was taken not to put anyone to shame. In addition to the distribution of alms there was in the early and mediæval centuries a communal hostel where the poor traveller obtained food and shelter, and also an asylum (*hekdesch*) which served both as a home for the poor and as a hospital for the sick and aged. In the course of time the primitive charity-bowl was superseded by private hospitality or communal kitchens and by the activity of benevolent societies, whilst the relief from the charity-box gradually developed into the manifold activity of a properly organized charitable society. In the Middle Ages such societies were already at work in every Jewish community in Europe for maintaining and clothing the poor, for educating the children of the poor, endowing poor maidens, rearing and educating orphans, visiting the sick, aiding sick and lying-in women, sheltering the aged, giving the poor a free burial, and ransoming prisoners.² This last branch of benevolent activity was the product of the tribulations to which the Jews were exposed by their frequent expulsions in mediæval times, and exacted especial efforts from the Spanish and Italian Jews owing to the repeated captures of their brethren by corsairs of the Mediterranean.

¹ *Kidd.*, 28a.

² See I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, chaps. xvii. xviii, (London, 1896).

All the methods of charity practised in ancient and mediæval Jewry are observed with undiminished zeal at the present day, with the exception of the ransoming of prisoners, for which there has been no call since the end of the eighteenth century. They have, moreover, undergone a considerable expansion and development in consequence of the changed conditions of modern times, which have produced additional needs, whilst the system of administration has been adapted to modern principles and is conducted by a voluntary committee aided by paid trained officials. Nay, in certain respects, such as the granting of loans without interest and the provision of medical relief, the organization of charity in Jewry may be said to have anticipated the methods of philanthropy in the world at large. So instinctive is the exercise of benevolence among a people that has suffered more than all other peoples in history that its societies for this purpose invariably outnumber the communal associations for any other object. When the Jews in 1654 first settled in New York, then called New Netherlands, and the governor, Peter Stuyvesant, wished to expel them, the directors of the Dutch West Indies Company instructed him that they were to have permission to remain there "provided the poor among them shall not become a burden to the company or the community, but be supported by their own nation." This stipulation simply accorded with the traditional principle of communal administration in Jewry, which has always looked after the relief of its own poor. But although the Jews have voluntarily assumed this task, a burden that is readily though not easily borne in every country, they do not by any means confine their benevolence to their own community, but are also usually among the first and most generous donors in every cause of humanity, such as the support of hospitals or the relief of the victims of some extraordinary catastrophe—a fire, an earthquake, a shipwreck, or a war.

It would be impossible here to trace the history and organization of the principal charitable bodies in the leading centres of Jewry: such a task would demand a

volume for itself. It must suffice to refer briefly to the establishment of some of the foremost institutions of this kind, and to give a general survey of the main branches of charitable work conducted in modern Jewry. Many of the institutions in London date from the middle of the eighteenth century ; there were special almshouses already in 1823, and the famous Orphan Asylum was founded in 1831. The Board of Guardians for the Relief of the Jewish Poor, which superseded a number of synagogue committees, was founded in 1859, although the parallel Board of the older Sephardic community has been active since 1837. In Paris the various societies were amalgamated as early as 1809 as the *Comité de Bienfaisance Israélite de Paris*, which, in addition to providing relief in money and kind, promptly established a complete hospital service for the poor. In most of the large cities on the Continent, such as Berlin, Vienna, Amsterdam, and Warsaw, the relief of the poor is administered not by an independent board, as in London and Paris, but by a commission of the Communal Council, representing a union of the synagogues, which levies a special tax for the purpose. In the younger community of New York the first important charitable society, the German Hebrew Benevolent Society, was founded in 1859, and a few years later the Independent Order Bnei Brith established a number of hospitals, orphan asylums, and homes for the Jewish poor in various cities of the United States. Similar in character to the London Board of Guardians, though of course more restricted in scope, are the boards that are found in almost every Jewish centre in the British Empire ; and to the same category belong the United Hebrew Charities of New York, the premier charitable agency of that city, and the principal benevolent associations in all the Jewish communities of the United States.¹ But whilst all these central bodies grant relief of all kinds to all needy members of the local community, there are hosts of other agencies which afford some special kind of aid to a more limited

¹ Since 1899 the Jewish charities in the United States hold a biennial convention.

circle, such as the distribution of food and clothing and the dowering of poor marriageable girls. In New York alone there are over one thousand philanthropic societies in the Jewish community ministering to every conceivable need of the helpless, and in the much smaller community of London there are close upon eighty. A distinctive feature of many of these subsidiary societies, notably in the British Empire and America, is that they are formed by immigrants hailing from the same country or even the same town, who no sooner find themselves on a sure footing in their adopted home than they organize measures for the aid of their fellow-countrymen or townsmen, their former companions in distress. Apart from all this organized benevolence there is an untold amount of private charity, even among the working classes themselves: it is no unusual phenomenon in an English town to see a couple of respectably dressed men or women on a Sunday collecting small gifts from door to door in aid of a distressed family. And in most Jewish homes of the traditional type there is a charity-box on the wall for some pious object in the Holy Land.

The principle by which the leading Jewish charities are guided, such as the Board of Guardians in London and the United Hebrew Charities in New York, is to assist the poor to become self-supporting and useful members of society. Each case is carefully investigated before relief is given so as to prevent imposture or pauperization, the object of the administrators being to inculcate the ideal of self-help. The great bulk of the applicants for relief in England and America consists of immigrants from Eastern Europe, who, in most cases, have sold up their homes to procure the means for their costly journey, and who, on arriving in the new land, have not the wherewithal to set up a home or to keep them afloat until they can find work or start a business. The commonest form of aid, therefore, is a weekly allowance, which is continued until the recipient is able to earn a living. But very often the aid takes the form of a loan, which is granted without interest and is repaid in weekly instalments, the

margin of loss incurred being surprisingly small.¹ It is by means of such a loan that many an immigrant obtains his first start in the struggle that faces him in his new world, and which, by dint of perseverance and thrift, he overcomes so successfully that he not only repays the debt but becomes a subscriber to the charity that helped him. In more serious cases, such as that of a widow with a family dependent upon her, or a man disabled from work by age or infirmity, a fixed allowance or pension is granted. A great amount of relief is also given in kind, in the form of food (bread, meat, groceries), clothing, and coal, as well as through the medium of soup-kitchens, which exist in most large cities—London, Paris, Berlin, Budapest, Warsaw, and other centres. A special occasion for the distribution of victuals is the eve of the Passover, when *matzos* ("unleavened bread") and flour are given to the poor for the proper celebration of this important festival; though the observance of the other festivals, too, and indeed of the Sabbath itself, which involves somewhat more than a frugal fare, often necessitates a special distribution of food. Besides aid in money and in kind many important charities provide day nurseries to look after the children of mothers who have to work away from home; they maintain workrooms for unskilled women and girls who learn sufficient of a simple trade, sewing or embroidery, to be able afterwards to earn a living by work at home; they conduct employment bureaus; they apprentice boys to manual trades and afterwards supply them with tools; they give special allowances in cases of maternity; they conduct dispensaries where free medicine is given, almshouses where the aged needy have a peaceful retreat, and besides there are homes for the incurable, for the convalescent, and for the deaf and dumb. There is, indeed, no want of the deserving poor which is not attended to with thoughtful consideration and relieved in the most fitting manner.

¹ The loan committee of the London Board of Guardians states in the Annual Report for 1913 that in the forty-seven years of its activity the bad debts have not exceeded 2½ per cent. The amount lent in 1913 was £21,617.

The assistance is not confined to material aid, but is supplemented by personal visitation, in accordance with the traditional Jewish practice of bestowing kindness (*gemiluth hesed*), organized upon systematic lines. This system of giving personal advice and kindly help by voluntary visitors, mainly women, in the homes of the poor is practised in almost all the large Jewish centres in Western Europe and America, and forms a valuable factor in preventing pauperization. In America these visitors are organized as "sisterhoods," and they are so welcome among those to whom they minister that they are called "mothers of the poor." The principle underlying this system has also suggested the formation of mothers' meetings and girls' clubs, where friendly talks are held or instruction is given in domestic management, hygiene, and simple accomplishments (such as embroidery or drawing), so that the poor may forget their poverty, or at least suffer the least hurt therefrom. But should all the aids available in a city fail to make a recipient of relief self-supporting, he is given the means to travel to some other Jewish centre where his prospects of finding remunerative work are better, and where, on arrival, he is lodged in a temporary shelter. Thanks to the friendly co-operation between the charity boards of different towns, a Jewish vagrant is an extremely rare phenomenon.

The local charitable bodies in the leading cities of the Western world effect their purpose on the whole in helping to render the poor immigrant independent of support after a few years: both in London and New York the frequency of application for aid by the arrivals of any particular year diminishes in every succeeding year.¹ And a still more notable indication of the gradual rise in welfare of the poor immigrant consists in the recent diminution

¹ Of 1000 families who had originally applied to the United Hebrew Charities, in New York, for assistance in October 1894, as many as 602 no longer applied after December 1894, and only 23 were still obtaining assistance in October 1904 (*The Immigrant Jew in America*, p. 66).

of cases for relief dealt with by the Board of Guardians in London and the United Hebrew Charities in New York.¹ This diminution of relief is only partly due to a decline in the volume of immigration from the lands of oppression ; it is in the main due to the industry, perseverance, and thrift of the poor themselves, which are further evidenced in the growing number of mutual loan societies and friendly benefit societies in all English-speaking countries. The burden of poor relief, however, is heavy enough. The London Board has disbursed an average of £27,690 per annum in direct relief (exclusive of the cost of administration) during the last few years, the New York institution distributed over £51,620 in the year 1911-12, and the Paris *Comité de Bienfaisance* £28,750 in 1912-13. The Vienna community spent a total of £39,230 upon its poor and hospital in 1912-13, while the richer Berlin community spent £64,530 upon its poor and hospitals in 1913-14. The funds for charitable purposes in English-speaking countries are derived almost exclusively from voluntary subscriptions and bequests, whilst in most Continental countries the major portion of the funds is supplied by a communal tax.

The particular care of the community has always been bestowed upon the orphan, the sick, and the aged. Special asylums for orphan children, in which they were sheltered, clothed, and educated, were founded as early as the eighteenth century, and they now exist in nearly every country with a considerable Jewish population. The Orphan Asylum in London was founded in 1795, and it now contains 400 children. In Paris there are three orphanages, one of which is maintained entirely by the Rothschild family, and in Vienna there are also three. In Germany

¹ Cases dealt with by—

(a) THE LONDON BOARD OF GUARDIANS.	(b) THE NEW YORK HEBREW CHARITIES.
1909 . . 4859 (1062 new cases)	1910 . . 5655 (1591 new cases)
1910 . . 4359 (897 " ")	1911 . . 5177 (1703 " ")
1911 . . 4039 (800 " ")	1912 . . 4589 (1369 " ")
1912 . . 3746 (827 " ")	
1913 . . 3348 (772 " ")	

there are over forty such institutions, mostly on a smaller scale, eleven of which are in Berlin alone, whilst in the United States there are nearly twenty, distributed in all the large cities, two of which in New York contain about 1000 children each. Apart from these asylums, orphan children are in many cases boarded with private families at the expense of the community. Jewish hospitals exist likewise in all the leading centres, both in the East and the West, in which the dietary laws are observed and the patients are able to conform with the practices of their religion. They are found in Paris and Amsterdam, in Berlin and Vienna, in Tunis and Constantinople, in New York and Jerusalem. In the United States alone there are twelve, a third being in New York ; in Germany there are over thirty, Berlin and Frankfort having three each ; and in Russia there are a hundred and twelve, the larger ones being in the southern and south-western provinces. In England, at present, there is only one Jewish hospital, in Manchester, but there is also a project on foot for the establishment of one in the East End of London, where the large Jewish population, speaking mainly Yiddish and faithfully devoted to the precepts of their faith, renders such an institution a necessity. Many of the hospitals have a dispensary service for out-patients' relief, and in connection with some of them there is also a training school for nurses. Like the orphan and the sick the aged needy, too, enjoy the special care of the community, which does not permit them to wander into the cold and alien atmosphere of a public workhouse, but provides them with comfortable accommodation in a special home. Such homes or almshouses, as they are sometimes called, have been established in England, France, Germany (where there are over twenty), the United States, and other communities. And when the poor have been released at last from all their earthly sufferings, they are laid to rest at the communal expense.

Manifold and generous as is the charity dispensed by the Jews in Western countries for the relief of their distressed brethren at home, it forms but a part of their

benevolent activity, which is equally extended to their oppressed brethren in the East. Indeed, one of the most distinguishing features of modern Jewish philanthropy is the solicitude and munificence devoted by the Jews of the West to the aid of their harried co-religionists in the East. Persecution in Russia and Rumania, economic misery in Galicia, outlawry in Persia and Morocco, fire and plague in Turkey, these and a succession of other evils make one-half of the Jewish people a permanent charge upon the other. To cope with this vast amount of suffering there are elaborate and efficient organizations in the leading capitals of Europe, each of which has a definite sphere of labour, whilst all act in co-operation in periods of exceptional crisis. They devote considerable attention to the furtherance of primary education, so that the children of the East may be in a better position than their fathers to help themselves. The "Alliance Israélite" of Paris, the Anglo-Jewish Association of London, and the "Hilfsverein" of Berlin have provided the communities of the Orient with a comprehensive network of schools, the Jewish Colonization Association subventions a great many schools in Russia and Rumania, and the "Israelitische Allianz" of Vienna assists schools in Galicia and Bukowina. These elementary institutions are supplemented by an array of technical schools, mainly in Russia and Galicia, at which young Jews and Jewesses are taught a trade that enables them to earn a living.¹ But the principal aid is of a material kind, and consists partly in large grants to the agricultural colonies in Russia, advances to the mutual loan banks in Russia and Galicia, and subventions for local charitable objects, and partly in the establishment of agricultural colonies in America. The Jewish Colonization Association has advanced over seven millions sterling to the furtherance of Jewish agriculture in Russia, it has provided the capital necessary for 688 loan-banks in Russia, and 24 (with 39 branches) in Galicia, but it devotes its main

¹ The Jewish Colonization Association maintains 19 technical schools for boys, and 16 for girls, besides evening courses for artisans, in Russia, and also 4 agricultural schools in Russia, and 1 in Galicia.

energy and the better part of its capital of ten millions to the promotion of its colonies in the Argentine and Brazil, which have been peopled with the victims of Russian barbarity and now number 24,000 souls.

Between the relief of distress in the Old World and the settlement of the distressed in the New, lies the great problem of emigration, whose solution demands the unflagging and concerted activity of a dozen organizations. Since 1904 there has been a Central Bureau for the affairs of Jewish emigration in Berlin under the management of the "Hilfsverein," which deals with the brunt of the work involved by the exodus of 100,000 Jews a year from Eastern Europe to the free lands across the seas, most of whom pass through Germany. This organization is assisted by thirty-two committees at all the frontier stations, harbours, and railway junctions of Germany; it procures reduced fares from the shipping companies and facilities from Government and local authorities; and it provides the emigrants on the way with food, clothing, shelter, medical aid, and information and help of every kind. Its efforts are supplemented by the Jewish Colonization Association, which has a central bureau in St. Petersburg, and 450 local offices in all parts of Russia; by the "Israelitische Allianz," which assumed special charge of emigrants from Galicia and Rumania; by the Jewish Territorial Organization, which deflects the tide of American-bound emigration to a certain extent to Galveston; and by special committees in Antwerp and Rotterdam, Basle and Copenhagen, London and New York. From his misery-stricken townlet in the Pale of Settlement to the Statue of Liberty in New York harbour the Jewish emigrant is sedulously aided at every stage in his long and toilsome journey to reach the goal of his desire; nor does help cease on his arrival in the "land of promise," for, besides a host of charities in every city, there is in New York, and likewise in Montreal, a wealthy foundation endowed by the late Baron de Hirsch, which relieves the new-comer by providing free instruction in English, by teaching him a trade and supporting him during his training, by transporting him to his relatives or to a place where his employment

prospects are better, or by advancing him a loan to settle on a farm. In no other sphere of philanthropic endeavour is the solidarity of the Jewish people so clearly manifested as in the comprehensive measures adopted to secure the emigrant's welfare. One exception, indeed, there is, namely, in cases of extraordinary calamity, when spontaneous efforts are made by all the leading organizations, and by a multitude of subsidiary bodies too, to bring speedy relief to the sufferers. Then, as when the Russian pogroms¹ of 1905 swept away thousands of lives and desolated thousands of homes, or when the Balkan War plunged tens of thousands of families into ruin, the Jews of the Old World work hand in hand with their brethren across the ocean to bring aid and solace to the sorrowing victims.²

¹ The word "pogrom," which means "riot," is Russia's latest gift to the English language.

² The total amount raised by all the Jewish philanthropic organizations for the relief of the victims of the pogroms in 1905-06, was £500,000. The amount expended by the Jewish organizations upon the relief of the Jewish victims of the Balkan Wars was £40,000.

CHAPTER VI

MORALITY

The morality of the family—Jewish wrongdoing exaggerated—Protective and preventive measures—The rate of criminality in Jewry lower than among the general population—Jewish criminality determined by economic conditions—Ratio of criminality corresponds to relative ratio of Jews in affected trade—Comparative rarity of crimes of violence

THE importance of right living is insisted upon with singular emphasis throughout the literature of the Jewish people. Purity both in private and public life is the keynote of the laws and statutes of the Pentateuch and of the glowing exhortations of Prophets and Psalmists ; it forms the recurring refrain in the monumental tomes of the Talmud and the dominant note in all the legal codes and ethical works of the Middle Ages. The contents of the Decalogue afford the surest testimony to the moral sense of ancient Israel : the ranging of perjury and covetousness along with the grosser crimes of murder and theft bespeaks a deep insight into human nature and a high standard of social conduct. The moral consciousness of ancient Israel has been transmitted unimpaired to modern Jewry, rendered more sensitive, if anything, by the experience of centuries of wrongs at the hands of the nations. It finds its simplest and readiest expression in the family circle, in the relations between husband and wife, between parents and children. The moral purity of the home has been characteristic of Jewish life from time immemorial ; marital infidelity is comparatively unknown in Eastern Europe, and is much less frequent among Jews than among non-Jews in the Western world. Similarly, the harmony of filial relations and the support of aged parents by children obtain in much greater

degree in Jewish than in non-Jewish families. The divergency in these respects that has manifested itself in recent years is mainly due to the fugitive wanderings which Jews are compelled to make to foreign lands. The husband who leaves his wife in Russia with the object of founding a better home in America occasionally succumbs to the charms of another woman in his new surroundings and abandons his lawful wife to her fate ; such phenomena add to the tragedy of Jewish dispersion, but on the whole the cases are few in relation to the vast tide of migration that surges across the Atlantic every year. And the lessened respect shown by the children of immigrants in America for their Russian-born parents is the result of the modern education that is suddenly thrust upon them and which induces a feeling of contempt—as heartless as it is unjustifiable—for the uncouth ways and speech of their elders. But despite these blemishes the morality of the Jewish family, in the West as well as in the East, compares very favourably in regard to chastity, sobriety, and general temperance with the ethical standard of its environment.

Imbued from childhood with sound moral doctrines, the Jew is, nevertheless, but human—and it is human to err. The frailties of the individual, however, are often exaggerated by prejudiced critics, who visit the sins of the few upon the nation at large, and thus attempt to prove the inferior morality of Jewry. The appearance of a Jew in a police court attracts more than ordinary attention because of his difference of type and the occasional necessity of an interpreter ; the sensation-loving press seizes upon each case and decks it out with striking head-lines for the delectation of its readers ; and hence arises the impression of enormous iniquity on the part of the Jew. But the very prominence given to Jewish cases of wrongdoing only serves to emphasize their comparative infrequency. The magistrates at British and American courts have often borne public testimony to the law-abiding character of the Jew when having to pass judgment upon a Jewish offender, and it is no rare practice for them to refer cases, in which both parties are Jews, to the local Rabbi for peaceful settlement. The Rabbis,

either individually or through the local *Beth Din* (Ecclesiastical Court), exert every effort to prevent Jewish litigants from airing their complaints in the public courts when these relate merely to civil matters, and their arbitration is very often accepted. They are animated in these endeavours by their jealousy for the repute of their community and by the desire to prevent a "profanation of the Name"—an expression commonly applied to a scandal which casts a shadow upon the fair fame of the Jewish people. The innate sobriety of the Jew, however, combined with his industry and family devotion, protects him from vices that afflict his Christian neighbour: drunkenness is a very rare phenomenon in Jewish districts, and its natural products, wife-beating, street-brawling, and acts of personal violence, are equally rare. No more convincing illustration of the superior conduct of the Jewish poor could be advanced than the transformation that has taken place within the last twenty years in certain streets in the East of London, which, once the dangerous haunt of native thieves and murderers and the scene of daily brawls, have become, since their occupation by hard-working Jewish immigrants, quiet and orderly thoroughfares that can well dispense with the supervision of the police.¹

The modern Ghetto is, as a rule, the most peaceful quarter in a Western town, and the Jewish authorities are always on the alert to stamp out any evil in its midst. Systematic measures are adopted in particular to suppress the white slave traffic in every country afflicted by the pest, and effective co-operation was rendered by the London Board of Deputies in securing the recent parliamentary Act for the prompter arrest and severer punishment of those who batten on this traffic.² The dangers to which women and girls travelling alone from Eastern Europe to England, America, or some other land of refuge, are

¹ See *The Jew in London*, by C. Russell and H. S. Lewis, p. 176; and *Minutes of Evidence and Report of Royal Commission on Alien Immigration* (1903).

² The Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1912, which facilitates the apprehension of the procurer and authorizes the infliction of a flogging upon conviction.

peculiarly exposed, have called into existence a special Association in England, which combines with similar bodies on the Continent and in America to protect these unsuspecting travellers from the snares and pitfalls around them. In London, New York, and other large centres there are homes where they are lodged and looked after until they can be handed over to their friends, or where those who have already been led astray can be reclaimed to the path of virtue. Cognate with this activity are the efforts made for the reformation of delinquents, young and old. Until recent years juvenile crime was unheard of in the Jewish community, but it has now made its unwelcome appearance in the big cities in consequence of the congestion and bad housing conditions in poor quarters. The children are forced to play in the streets, or engage in the selling of newspapers and matches to eke out the slender family budget, and are thus contaminated by the vicious influences of street life. The communal authorities endeavour to counteract this noxious tendency by apprenticing boys to a trade after they leave school, and by providing clubs which will shield them from the temptations of card-gambling and horse-betting rampant around them. But despite these preventive measures, or because they are not radical and comprehensive enough, boys fall into evil ways and call for redemption. An Industrial School for Jewish boys has been founded at Hayes (Middlesex), at which the inmates are taught useful trades by which they can afterwards earn an honest living. There is a similar institution in New York, known as a Protectory, and wayward children in that and other cities in America are also committed to the care of probationary or "parole" officers. Delinquents of an older age are visited in prison by the local Rabbi, who tries to win them back to the path of honest industry, and they are helped after their release to obtain employment or to reach relatives or friends in another country by special societies in London,¹ New York, and other large cities.

¹ The United Synagogue Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society assisted 170 discharged prisoners in the year 1913, of whom 68 were reported later

The Jews have always laid claim to possessing a record as law-abiding citizens, and their claim is proved by all the statistics available. In Russia, which contains nearly half of the Jews in the world, only 4277 Jews were convicted in 1907, forming only 2·97 per cent of the total number of persons convicted in the country in that year.¹ The Jews at the last Russian census in 1897 formed 4·13 per cent of the total population, but owing to the large dimensions of their emigration, which has probably counter-balanced their natural increase, and owing to the unaffected increase of the general population, they probably now form only 4 per cent of the total population. Hence, according to this ratio they should provide 400 convicted persons per 10,000, whereas the number they actually provided in the last year for which figures are available was only 297. This favourable result is all the more remarkable in view of the host of exceptional laws in force against them, and the barbarous severity with which they are applied. Still more instructive is the record of the Jews in other countries based upon a larger series of years. In Austria, in the period 1880-1902, the Jews had a criminality of 100 among 100,000 Jews as compared with 122 for the Christian population.² In Hungary, in the period 1906-09, there were 1106·8 convictions among 100,000 Jews, against 1679 among 100,000 Christians; the Jews provided only 3·36 per cent of the total convictions, although they form 5·02 of the population.³ In Germany the annual proportion of Jewish convictions in the years 1903-06 was 830·2 per 100,000 as compared with 854·1 per 100,000 of the Christian population⁴; whilst in Prussia, in 1910, there were only 1128 convictions among 100,000 Jews above the age of 12 as compared with 1214 among 100,000 Christians of the same punishable age.⁵ In Holland

to be doing well and a great number were lost sight of, whilst only 15 were re-arrested.

¹ *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1912, "Zur Kriminalität der Juden in Russland," pp. 127-131.

² Dr. J. Thon, *Die Juden in Oesterreich* (1908), p. 141.

³ *Zeitschrift f. Demog.*, No. 4, 1911.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1909, p. 50.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 87.

the proportion of convictions in 1898-1902 was 182·7 per 100,000 Jews as against 297·8 per 100,000 Christians.¹ The statistics published in the United States show similar conditions: thus, the number of Jewish inmates in the four State prisons of New York, on 3rd December 1913, was 457 out of a total of 4639, which is only 9·4 per cent, whereas the Jewish population of the State of New York is about 1,200,000 in a total of 9,000,000, or about 13 per cent. "On the same date the number of Jewish inmates in the Tombs, penitentiary, and workhouse—the prisons of New York City—was 494 out of 3403, being 17·5 per cent, whilst the Jewish population of the city is about 20 per cent of the whole. If we eliminate the Tombs, in which are confined persons who have not been brought to trial, and many of whom are no doubt innocent, we find that there were in the penitentiary and workhouse 223 Jews out of a total of 2309 inmates, being less than 10 per cent."² In England there has been a steady decline in the number of Jews imprisoned in the Metropolis since 1904, although the Jewish population increases from year to year both naturally and by means of immigration. The decline has been as follows: ³—

**JEWS IMPRISONED IN WANDSWORTH, PENTONVILLE, WORMWOOD SCRUBBS,
AND HOLLOWAY PRISONS**

1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.
717	715	513	434	489	433	358	286	342	324

During the last few years the number of Jews in these prisons, together with Parkhurst, at the end of each year has been as follows:—

On 31st December 1908	. 121	On 31st December 1911	. 62
" " 1909	. 104	" " 1912	. 67
" " 1910	. 84	" " 1913	. 97

In the year 1911 the proportion of convictions among

¹ *Zeitschrift f. Demog.*, No. 2, 1905.

² *American Hebrew*, 12th December 1913, p. 200.

³ Report of the Visitation Committee of the United Synagogue, 1913. These figures include persons who served terms of imprisonment pending payment of, or in default of paying, fines (including judgment debtors).

the general population in the United Kingdom was 439 per 100,000, whereas among the 160,000 Jews in Greater London (who form three-fifths of the Jews in the United Kingdom) the number of convictions was only 286, which corresponds to 178 per 100,000. Criminality among the Jews in the United Kingdom is thus less than half as frequent as among the general population. These facts deserve to be pondered by those who allege that the immigration of Jews into Britain brings an undesirable element into the country.

The low record of Jewish convictions is all the more notable as the Jews are pre-eminently an urban people, among whom crime is generally more rife than among a population distributed over rural as well as urban districts. Moreover, in examining the nature of their criminality, we must bear in mind the conditions of their environment, the character of their occupations, and their general intellectual status. The statistical investigations made in the principal countries on the Continent, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Germany, have shown that Jewish crime is practised far more against property than against persons, that it more often takes the form of fraud than of violence or brutality. These investigations only bear out what one would naturally expect of a highly cultured people, namely, that they should sin more with their brains than with their hands. The wrongdoing of the Jew is usually characteristic of his particular occupation, and must be considered in connexion with the general liability of those engaged in that occupation to transgress the laws affecting it. The majority of Jewish offences are committed in the exercise of the various branches of trade and commerce as a result of their undue preponderance in these occupations. Thus, in Russia, although the Jews form only 4 per cent of the total population, they contributed 27·12 per cent to the convictions for trade and commercial trespasses (in 1907). But 38·65 per cent of the Jews are engaged in trade as compared with only 3·77 of the rest of the population, that is, Jews are proportionately ten times more numerous represented in trade than non-Jews. Hence, if Jewish

merchants had sinned to the same degree as their Russian colleagues, their percentage of the trade offences would have been 40 instead of 27·12.¹ In all the other categories of offences in which the Jewish percentage exceeds the Jewish ratio of the population in Russia, this percentage is even less than half of the normal 40, which provides a convincing testimony to the honesty of the Jewish businessman in Russia. The Jewish trespasses against Government and local ordinances amounted to 17·10 per cent, and are the result mainly of administrative decrees relating to the restriction of the rights of domicile and school attendance which are issued in far greater number against the Jews than against any other section of the population, and which inevitably provoke revolt. Similarly the Jews accounted for 12·42 per cent of the convictions for infringing the laws regarding public security: most of these laws relate to the prevention of pogroms, the incitement to which could certainly not be favoured by Jews, but they also include severe and capricious press by-laws, the infraction of which inevitably follows from the struggle for liberty. The attitude of hostility forced upon the Jews also accounts for their providing 10·6 per cent of those condemned for State crimes. On the other hand, the Jews show a percentage below their ratio to the general population in every kind of theft and robbery (2·41) and burglary (1·48), whilst their record is even lower still as regards personal assault (1·12) and murder (1·11).

The general features of Jewish criminality as manifested in Russia are paralleled by the conditions in Western Europe and America, except, of course, that crimes against the State are not by any means as prominent. Dr. Ruppin sets forth in tabular form the crimes in which Jews are proportionately represented in a higher degree than Christians, and also those in which Christians are repre-

¹ *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1912. It is instructive to note that the total convictions of Jews in Germany in 1903-06 would be reduced from 830·2 to 608·2 per 100,000 Jews if all trade offences were eliminated, whilst a similar elimination in the case of Christian convictions would only reduce them from 854·1 to 802·8 per 100,000 Christians (*ibid.*, 1909, p. 52).

sented in a higher degree, upon the basis of the statistical reports of Germany (1903-06), Austria (1898-1902), Hungary (1904), and Holland (1902).¹ An examination of this table shows that the penal offences of which the Jews are convicted in a higher degree are those of usury, fraudulent bankruptcy, fraud, disseminating immoral publications, blackmail, evasion of conscription, frustrating legal executions, forgery, libel, and duelling. On the other hand, the penal offences of which Christians are convicted in a higher degree are defiance of State authority, theft, robbery, burglary, injury to property, arson, injury to persons, and murder (including homicide through negligence and abortion). It will be seen that most of the categories in which the Jews are more liable to transgress are connected with commercial occupations in which they are proportionately more numerous engaged than their Christian fellow-citizens. Thus, in Germany, in 1903-06, and also in 1909-10, the ratio of convictions for fraudulent bankruptcy was '5 per 100,000 among Jews and '1 among Christians; but whilst over 55 per cent of the Jews in Germany are engaged in various forms of business, only 13'4 per cent of the general population are devoted to such pursuits, and hence the higher ratio of fraudulent bankruptcies among Jews fairly corresponds to the higher ratio of Jews in commerce.² In Austria the ratio of Jews convicted of fraudulent bankruptcy in 1880-1902 was eight times the ratio among Christians; but the ratio of Jews engaged in business in that country is twelve times the ratio of Christians.³ The degree of delinquency on the part of Jews can only be properly estimated by a comparison of the ratio they provide in different occupations with their ratio of corresponding trade offences, and these two ratios fairly equalize one another.⁴ There are, moreover, special circumstances to

¹ *Die Juden der Gegenwart* (2nd edition, 1911), p. 223.

² Dr. J. Segall, *Die beruflichen und sozialen Verhältnisse der Juden in Deutschland*, p. 26.

³ J. Thon, *Die Juden in Oesterreich*, p. 144.

⁴ *Die Juden der Gegenwart*, p. 226.

account for the higher degree of delinquency among Jews in regard to certain offences. Thus, the proportion of Jews in Germany convicted in 1903-06 of infringing the Sunday closing laws was 129·4 per 100,000, as compared with only 17 among the Christian population.¹ This is obviously due to the inability of the Jew who strictly observes the Sabbath from sunset on Friday until Saturday night to sacrifice the Sunday also by keeping his shop or warehouse closed. It is probable that the ratio of convictions for this offence is somewhat similar among the Jews in England and America, but no statistical record is available. But of a cognate character are the frequent convictions for infringing some local traffic by-law, to which the numerous Jewish hawkers and pedlars in London and New York are liable, owing partly to their ignorance of the law and partly to the assiduity with which they pursue their vocation. It is also of interest to note that the convictions for the evasion of military service in Germany in 1909-10 amounted to 25·3 per 100,000 among Jews as against 9·9 among Christians,²—a disproportion due to the greater tendency of Jews to emigrate as well as to their utter lack of prospects in the German army. Jews have also been punished one and a half times as often as their neighbours in Prussia for duelling (the proportion being ·3 as against ·2 per 100,000), doubtless owing to the inordinately large proportion of Jews among university students, who regard the duel as the only honourable method of settling disputes, and owing to the frequency of such disputes between Jews and Christians in an Anti-Semitic atmosphere. But the absolute figures are fifty-nine duels among Christians, and only one duel among Jews.³

On the other hand, as we have seen in the case of Russia, crimes involving violence, whether against property or the person, such as robbery, assault, manslaughter, and murder, are much rarer among Jews than among Christians. In Germany (1903-06) arson and theft were committed thrice more by Christians than by Jews, robbery nine times more,

¹ *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik*, 1909, p. 51.

² *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 92.

³ *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 88.

injurious assault thrice more, and murder seven times more.¹ In Hungary (1906-09) arson was committed half as often again by Christians as by Jews, theft and robbery were committed twice as often, injurious assault nearly six times, and murder seven times as often.² In Austria (1880-1902) arson was committed more than twice as often by Christians as by Jews, robbery nearly thrice as often, injurious assault more than thrice, and murder more than twice as often.³ On the other hand, the Jews in Amsterdam (1901-04) showed a slightly higher ratio of convictions for violent assault, 18·7 per cent of all Jewish convictions being due to this offence as compared with 15·2 among the general population.⁴ The superior frequency of crimes of violence among the Jews in Amsterdam as compared with their brethren in other parts is doubtless due to their being largely employed as artisans in the diamond industry, the predisposition to settle quarrels by a resort to fisticuffs naturally obtaining more strongly among the working classes than among a predominantly commercial population such as the Jews in Germany.

On the whole, therefore, we see that the delinquency of the Jews consists mainly of breaches of the laws and regulations governing the business pursuits in which they are engaged, and generally corresponds to the ratio by which they are represented in them. It springs, for the most part, from the nature of their economic situation, and is eminently free from the vice and brutality that account for the grossest crimes in the world of human iniquity.

¹ *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Stat.*

² *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 59.

³ J. Thon, *Die Juden in Oesterreich*, p. 144.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Stat.*, 1907, p. 190.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL LIFE

Domestic diversion—Family festivities and indoor games—
Social clubs, literary societies, and public functions—Fraternal
orders and benefit societies—Students' unions—Athletic sports—
Theatres—Cafés—Summer resorts

HAVING surveyed the Social Aspect of Modern Jewry from every main angle of vision, we now come to a review of social life in its more conventional and intimate sense, to a description of the forms and fashions in which Jewry spends its leisure and seeks recreation and amusement—its domestic diversions and festivities; its games and pastimes; its clubs, institutes, and public functions; its fraternal orders, students' unions, and athletic associations; and, last but not least, the frequenting of theatres and the flocking to summer resorts.

The typical Jew of the modern as of the mediæval Ghetto finds his most congenial recreation in the study of the Talmud. When the toil of the day is over and the evening repast is finished and the grace has been devoutly said, he takes down from his shelf of Hebrew literature a heavy leather-bound tome of the Talmud, frayed at the edges from years of use, and in the glow of the lamp he cons a page from some treatise on festival services in the Temple or on ethical virtues, reading the text aloud in a quaint traditional sing-song and accompanying the solemn argument with nods of the head and downward scoops of the outstretched thumb, all heedless of the world without and its crowd of fleeting pleasures. Wrapped in the lore of his ancestors he moves in a sphere of the

highest bliss, whilst at his side, meek and devoted, sits his wife, diligently plying a needle or perchance bending likewise over a Yiddish version of the Pentateuch, full of legends, parables, and pious reflections. She listens lovingly to the voice of her husband, vainly striving ever and anon to follow the sacred mysteries, but venturing not to interrupt the trend of thought or flow of argument. Yet if a neighbour looks in they both readily break off their diversion and give him a cordial welcome, eagerly entering into a discussion of domestic or communal affairs—the last letter from a son in South Africa, a rumoured engagement, or the forthcoming appointment of a new Rabbi—which occasionally wanders into the more turbulent region of *Weltpolitik*. The lady bestirs herself to offer the guest a glass of tea with lemon, or if the cause of his visit be of joyous moment she sets a bottle of wine or whisky with glasses upon the table, and a dish of home-made beetroot jam, dispensing a kindly hospitality which serves to gratify her taste for gossip. She is always “at home,” unlike her rich sister in the more fashionable part of the city, who receives only on fixed days, the second Sunday and fourth Thursday, and who gives occasional dinner-parties, card-parties, or garden-parties, and otherwise faithfully observes the latest conventions of modern society.

The placid hours of domestic life in the Ghetto are sufficiently varied by festivals and fasts, with their exacting requirements of dietary and house-cleaning, to banish all thought or desire for outside pleasures, whilst a series of family celebrations—circumcision, redemption of the first-born, Bar-mitzvah, betrothals, and weddings—supply all the merriment that is wished for in these modest circles. It is at the weddings of their children or of their relatives or friends that the pious old folks hear, as a rule, the only music and see the only dancing that enliven the even tenor of their days; and the Jewish folk-melodies (wistfully recalling half-forgotten scenes of long ago in their native townlet in Russia or Galicia), the measured dances (innocent of the degenerations of an

immodest age), and the learned or witty speeches at the long and many-coursed dinner, leave a happy impression that remains for months. A daughter in the home generally involves the acquisition of a piano, for she will not be outshone by her friends in social accomplishments, and although the father, with his serious view of life, may oppose the introduction of the instrument, the indulgent mother, with an eye to the conquest of a desirable young man, encourages the girl's ambition and secures its gratification. Only upon one occasion in the year are the sounds of unusual revelry heard beneath the family roof, namely, upon the feast of Purim, when everybody must make so merry and drink so freely that he "cannot distinguish between Haman and Mordecai," and when a group of masked minstrels (*Badchanim*) go from house to house to sing jovial songs to the strains of a rickety violin or to perform a short comic play. But these minstrels, though still surviving in Eastern communities, are met with more and more rarely in the Western world, where theatre and music-hall develop a too critical taste. Similarly, a traditional feature of Chanukah, the game of *trendel*, a teetotum with Hebrew letters on its four faces, which is played upon this festival in Eastern Europe, has failed to maintain itself in the West, though games with nuts may still be seen played by children in the Passover week in the streets of the modern Ghettos. No pastime of former days, however, can compare with the fascinating attractions of chess or the tempting allurements of cards. The indulgence in cards, often played for high stakes, is found among all classes, but is pursued here and there to pernicious excess, leading to occasional reproof from the Rabbi in his Sabbath sermon. But chess enjoys a deep-rooted and widespread affection in intellectual circles, dating from mediæval times, and is even allowed on the Sabbath, whilst the abnormally high proportion of champions contributed by modern Jews affords the best testimony of the skill they have achieved in the game.

The social life of the community in the mass takes on a host of varied forms, reflecting the ideals, interests, and

pleasures of different classes. A cluster of clubs and societies attract different elements, offering a varied programme of entertainment and instruction, much of which is concentrated upon the Saturday and Sunday nights of the winter months, alternating with rambles and picnics in the summer. In the large centres there are not only clubs for working-men, often with a membership of over a thousand, and likewise for boys, in the management of which the leisured class take an active part, but also clubs for girls, who are taught both useful and ornamental accomplishments and give occasional entertainments for the benefit of their parents and friends. The clubs in English-speaking countries are furnished with all the means of amusement and recreation—billiard-tables, chess, draughts, and dominoes, with a reading-room and library for those more studiously inclined; lectures and debates are held upon Jewish and general topics; concerts and theatrical performances give budding talents an opportunity of display, and the indispensable balls and soirées provoke cordial relations between members and their lady friends. The "social and literary societies," having, as a rule, no permanent premises of their own like the clubs, meet in synagogue council-chambers, hotels, concert-halls, or even in private houses; they generally have more important debates and a superior list of lectures, some of which are given by speakers from other cities or other countries, whose visits, if they be well-known personages, occasion the delivery of a weighty message, perchance of a propagandist nature, and often attract an overflowing audience. Such visits have in recent years become of increasing occurrence. They are exchanged between the Jewries of England and America, and also between them and those of the Continent, serving to improve a mutual understanding and to fortify the sentiment of solidarity. In many large cities, in America as well as in Europe, the social and intellectual life of the working class revolves round an institute modelled on Toynbee Hall; in Berlin and Vienna, in Lemberg and Cracow, it is actually called the Jewish Toynbee Hall, in London it is the Jewish



GHETTO MINSTRELS
FROM THE DRAWING BY LEONID PASTERNAK

Institute, in Paris the Jewish Popular University, in New York the Hebrew Educational Alliance. These institutions comprise a library and reading-room in which books and newspapers of Jewish interest form the main feature. Free popular lectures and concerts are held, whilst sometimes courses are given in the language of the country for immigrants. Public dinners are held now and again to promote some worthy cause or celebrate some important event, bringing together a large circle of interested persons in convivial array who listen to the speeches with sympathy tempered by an irrepressible tendency to criticize ; or the institution or movement to be furthered may be aided by a bazaar, to which titled magnates of the community, and just as readily the Mayor of the city himself, lend their patronage, and in which the wives of prominent members, with their husband-hunting daughters, vie with one another in their personal co-operation. Gifts in kind are there received not only from shopkeepers great and small, but also from a score of "Dorcas" and needlework guilds, which meet alternately in the homes of members to sew useful undergarments and discuss the latest gossip over tea. Once a year the children of the communal schools and classes assemble in their best attire for the prize distribution, when they go through a programme of songs, recitations, and musical drill to the delight of their admiring parents, and the chairman delivers himself of his views upon current educational problems. And remote from all the motley hubbub of the Ghetto, broken ever and anon by the strident bells of a cyclists' corps out for a Sunday run, or the martial band of a lads' brigade swinging along with spirited step,—seated in the quiet seclusion of a humble synagogue the faithful followers of the Talmud, parents and greybeards, pursue their pious study under the guidance of a hoary Rabbi and celebrate the completion (*Siyum*) of a treatise with a humble feast in the selfsame scene, where mundane discourse freely commingles with spiritual themes.

Jewish life since the latter part of the nineteenth century is also distinguished by three other forms of

organization for social purposes: the fraternal order or friendly society, the university students' union, and the athletic association. The fraternal orders, whose origin is traced to the *Chevre Kadisha* (Holy Society) or burial society mentioned in the Talmud,¹ are particularly numerous, far exceeding the clubs and literary societies; they abound in thousands in all parts of the world, and flourish especially in English-speaking countries. The oldest, most important, and most widely ramified of these organizations is the Independent Order Bnei Brith (Sons of the Covenant), which was founded in 1843 in New York by a number of German Jews under the lead of Henry Jones, and which now comprises over 400 lodges with a membership exceeding 34,000, drawn from the middle and upper classes and scattered over the United States, England, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Rumania, Turkey, Egypt, and Palestine. Founded to inculcate the principles of charity, benevolence, and brotherly love, and barring from its meetings all political and religious controversy, the Bnei Brith Order has not only strengthened the bonds of solidarity between the dispersed communities of Israel, but has also accomplished a great amount of social and philanthropic work: it has established hospitals, orphan asylums, schools, and libraries in the United States, and rendered valuable relief to the persecuted Jews of Eastern Europe. Most of the lodges have premises of their own, some of them exceedingly commodious and sumptuous, which not only serve as a social rendezvous but constitute a fertile source of humanitarian effort. But among the larger class less favoured by fortune the fraternal order enjoys an even greater popularity, for, apart from its social attractions, it provides cheap insurance against sickness or unemployment, and sundry money benefits, and is very often simply called a benefit society. Orders of this kind have sprung up in great number in England² and America during the last thirty years and are still on

¹ *Moed Katon*, 27b.

² Over thirteen pages in the *Jewish Year Book* for 1914 (pp. 67-80) are devoted to an enumeration of these societies in England.

the increase from year to year, drawing their membership almost exclusively from the ranks of the immigrants from Eastern Europe and owing their multiplicity to the love of the Russian and Galician Jew for society-formation and to local patriotism. Several of these orders in America have over a hundred lodges each, the largest being the Brith Abraham, with 684 lodges and 185,000 members, and a number of them have recently combined to create a national Jewish Fraternal Congress with a membership of 600,000. The largest organization in England, the Grand Order of Israel, has sixty-two lodges, eight of them situated in South Africa and Canada. Besides the large orders, some of which bear a purely Jewish name, whilst others are designated "Hebrew Order of Druids" or "Oddfellows," there is a host of unattached friendly societies, many of which are called after the native town of the original members.

The students' unions at universities are of somewhat later development, for it was not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century that the Jewish students at any of the principal seats of learning were numerous enough to form a society of their own. The first organization was founded in 1882 in Vienna by Jewish students from Russia, Rumania, and Galicia, who entitled their society *Kadimah*, which means both "Eastward" and "Forward," as an indication of the ideal of a resettlement in Palestine which they advocated. Since then, partly as a result of the advance of Zionism and partly as a result of the Anti-Semitic attitude of the general students' corps on the Continent, separate societies have been formed by the Jewish students at almost every university at which they number at least a dozen, and are now found in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Switzerland, France, and Holland. Some of these societies owe their existence simply to the exclusion of Jews from the general corporation, and they adopt a passive attitude on Jewish questions, but the majority are animated by the ideal of Jewish nationalism and actively foster the Zionist cause. The Jewish nationalist societies in Germany are grouped

into two organizations, the "Bund Jüdischer Corporationen," founded in 1901, with a membership of over 600 (graduates and undergraduates), and the smaller "Kartell Zionistischer Verbindungen," founded five years later, with a membership of 250. The Zionist students' societies in Holland were federated in 1908, but those in other Continental countries pursue an unattached existence. Established to assert and promote the principle of Jewish nationalism these corporations have nevertheless adopted all the methods and conventions of German corporations: they each have their distinctive colours and they hold "beer evenings" at which the students sing spirited songs in swelling chorus around tables which they bang with their beer-mugs, presided over by officers who are accoutred in a gorgeous uniform and armed with a sword that does duty alternately as chairman's hammer and conductor's baton. But their songs tell not of Teuton valour but of Jewish hope, breathing the spirit of a rejuvenated people. Besides these convivial gatherings the members cultivate the study of Jewish history, literature, and modern problems, and also practise fencing so as to be prepared for any duel in which they might be involved in vindication of the Jewish name. The Jewish societies at the universities in English-speaking countries are not, like the Continental corps, the inevitable product of an unfriendly, environment, but voluntary associations for the study of Jewish questions and for social intercourse. The Jewish students in England, and to a less extent in the United States, join the societies of their university; but their racial sympathies prompt them also to fraternize with one another. Thus, Oxford has its Adler Society and Cambridge its Schechter Society, whilst at both universities there is also a Zionist Society. Moreover, in the United States, "Menorah" societies for the study of Jewish history and the discussion of Jewish questions have been formed at twenty-five Universities and organized into an Intercollegiate "Menorah" Association with over 1000 members.

A more remarkable development than either the

fraternal orders or students' societies are the Jewish athletic and gymnastic societies that have sprung up during the last twenty years. The love of sport, a conception almost entirely foreign to the Jew of former times, has been fostered in the modern generation in its schooldays and has led to the participation of Jews in all branches of athletics, in some of which they have achieved distinction. Jewish pugilists in England had already acquired a reputation a hundred years ago, but they formed a somewhat abnormal phenomenon in the life of the time. To-day the cultivation of sport has become an essential feature of Jewish life, and the "Ghetto bend" in Western countries can only be seen on the backs of immigrants. Cricket and football clubs now occupy a regular place in the list of communal organizations, and matches take place as a rule on Sunday, the sanctity of the Sabbath not permitting them on a Saturday. The large number of these clubs in London has led to the formation of a Jewish Athletic Association. The importance of swimming was urged over sixteen centuries ago by a sage in the Talmud and is universally recognized in Jewry at the present day. No Jew has yet swum the English Channel, but Captain Webb, who was the first to perform the feat, had a Jewish trainer, Marquis Bibbero; and Jabez Wolfe has more than once very nearly completed the coveted achievement. On the Continent the love of sport has manifested itself most extensively in the cultivation of gymnastics. Stimulated by the new spirit of Zionism, which appreciated the value of *mens sana in corpore sano*, gymnastic societies were formed in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Turkey, drawing their most enthusiastic adherents from the ranks of university students and comprising women as well as men. There are nearly forty such societies altogether, federated into a single association ("Judische Turnerschaft"), with headquarters in Berlin; it comprises over 5000 members and has an organ of its own besides a special song-book. Rambling and rowing have also been taken up with ardour, and on the Spree, the Elbe,

and the Danube may be seen competing crews with distinctive Jewish colours and badges. Particularly interesting is the recent progress of the gymnastic movement among the Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Maccabee Gymnastic Society in Constantinople has found so many imitators in Syria and Palestine that it has organized them into a league comprising about 1000 members, with Hebrew as the language of command. In Palestine alone there are already a dozen societies in all the leading colonies, urban and rural, and the first Gymnastic Conference in the autumn of 1912 was a significant event of the Jewish renaissance in the Holy Land. Cognate with the enthusiasm for outdoor sports is the success that has attended the development of the Jewish Lads' Brigade in England, which, founded in 1895 by the late Colonel Albert Goldsmid, now comprises nearly 2000 members and holds a northern and southern camp every year. The boy scouts' movement has also found many followers among the younger generation.

In the centre of Jewish affections stands the theatre, to the modern development of which Jewish genius—dramatic and histrionic—has contributed so much. Jews are most ardent theatre-goers in every country, attending *premieres* with almost religious zeal, and managers are so dependent upon their patronage that they must reckon with their susceptibilities in deciding upon new productions. Saturday nights and the evenings after the close of festivals are generally spent in a theatre, in which the daughters of Israel are occasionally lavish in their display of jewels—or does not their darker and more pronounced type attract more attention to their personal adornments than is bestowed upon the rest of the feminine audience? Frequent in their attendance at the playhouse the Jews have a fine critical faculty and often determine the fate of a play. They are passionate lovers of good music, prominent among the admirers of every star in the musical firmament; while they show particular generosity in facilitating the *début* of every fresh genius among their people, which is peculiarly prolific of prodigies. The denizens of the Ghetto have theatres of

their own, with their own dramas and operas in Yiddish, and their own local stars and favourites. In Warsaw and Odessa, in Lemberg and Bucharest, and in London and New York there are permanent Yiddish theatres—three in New York alone—at which the operas of Abraham Goldfaden and the dramas of Jacob Gordin, not to mention the works of lesser lights, are played before crowded audiences, who are as tempestuous in their disapproval as they are lavish in their applause. Most of the operas are based upon episodes of Jewish history, whilst the dramas, which mainly deal with problems of modern Jewish life, are frequently given a musical setting. But a great many Yiddish plays are simply adaptations of non-Jewish dramas, a weakness being shown for those of a sensational nature ; and as the numerical limitations of the Ghetto public involve a frequent change of bill, which means a trying task for the actors' memory, the prompter's box is unfortunately a conspicuous feature of the stage.

An hour or two after the theatre, apart from the hours of the rest of the day, are spent in a café, of which the Jews, with their love of discussion, are among the most regular devotees. In all the large cities, from Amsterdam to Constantinople, Jews may be seen in animated conversation at particular coffee-houses, and, just like the rest of the population, different sections or parties within the Jewish community foregather in different cafés as in different camps, discussing the latest events of communal or political interest and fashioning their future policy. Thus Café Monopol in Berlin is sacred to the Zionists, whilst the Jews of " liberal " tendency prefer to drink their coffee in the neighbouring Cafés Bauer and Victoria. The same phenomenon is manifest in the Jewish quarter of New York, where the Zionists, the Socialists, and the Territorialists, and the satellites of various local authors, actors, poets, and pundits, each have their favourite resort for the leisure hours before midnight—and after.

Following in the footsteps of fashion the Jews flock every year, in ever-increasing numbers, to the world's leading watering-places, seeking recuperation for body and

mind. Excluded from the summer resorts of Russia and likewise from the principal hotels on the east coast of the United States, the Jewish inhabitants of both these countries take their holiday in the well-known resorts of Central and Southern Europe, from Scheveningen to Lucerne and from Carlsbad to Venice. The liability of Jews to various forms of dyspepsia and rheumatism causes them to repair in hosts to all the mineral wells to drink the waters, and Carlsbad and Marienbad in particular present the aspect of an annual reunion of the scattered sons of Israel. The promenades are filled with a kaleidoscopic crowd of Jewish types talking in a dozen tongues—well-fed merchants from England, savants with slashed cheeks from Germany and Austria, spruce Reform Rabbis in tourist dress from America, orthodox Rabbis with flowing white beards and solemn mien from Russia, a Chassidic miracle-maker in silk gaberdine and fur hat from Galicia, stalwart, black-bearded Jews from the Caucasus in conical astrakhan hats, and olive-complexioned Jews from the Orient in fez and turban. Even the most exacting of the ultra-orthodox suffer no hardship in these resorts in respect of diet and lodging, for there are *kosher* boarding-houses and restaurants galore to accommodate them all, and the strict routine of the cure is relieved by divine service three times a day and Talmudic disputations at all hours. Drawn together from their dispersion by their bodily ills, the children of Israel discuss the malady of their people while seeking their own personal healing, and then return to their thousand tents.

CHAPTER VIII

RACIAL AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Anthropological and physiological characteristics—The Jewish type predominantly brunette and brachycephalic—Historical evidence upon racial purity—Uniformity of Jewish type—Causes of physiological characteristics—Factors contributing to good health : Dietary and hygienic laws—Temperance—Low rate of mortality in general and of infants in particular—Causes of low mortality—Liability to contagious diseases, bronchitis, heart-disease, hemorrhoids, cancer—Liability to consumption, diseases of digestive organs, of the eye and skin—Morbidity of children—Nervous diseases—Suicides—Inferiority of birth-rate—Decline of marriage-rate—Decline of natural increase

✓ THE Jew has many distinguishing characteristics both of an anthropological and a physiological nature. Their origin is to be sought partly in the racial stock to which he belongs, partly in the endless vicissitudes through which he has passed, partly in the environment in which he has dwelt, and partly in the mode of life that he has followed. His anthropological characteristics are due to the racial factor, and they owe ✓ their preservation in approximately their original condition to the social isolation in which he has for the most part lived since the days of his dispersion. His physiological ✓ characteristics are due in greatest measure to the hygienic laws which he has observed as part of his religion, and likewise to the sufferings which his people has endured in its struggle for existence, and the effects of which, both beneficial and detrimental, he has inherited as a national legacy. The characteristics of both kinds will be found in their fullest extent among the Jews who live in compact settlements, particularly in Eastern Europe and in the

Western communities composed of those who have themselves migrated from the East. The anthropological traits have a longer and stronger persistence than those of a purely physiological order: they are rooted in the blood and will even reassert themselves in the grandchildren of those who have married outside the Jewish pale and withdrawn from the Jewish community. The peculiarities of a physiological nature are dependent upon more governable factors, and they become weaker or disappear in proportion as the individual Jew abandons the habits and customs of centuries and adopts the mode of life of his non-Jewish neighbours.

The distinctive features of the Jewish type consists of dark hair and eyes, and hence, owing to the preponderance of this feature, the Jews belong to the brunette group of the human race, or, more particularly, to the brunette group (Melanochroes) of the white race. The blond type, consisting of fair hair and blue eyes, and the mixed type consisting of fair hair with dark eyes or dark hair with light eyes, are also found in small and varying proportions in different countries. The prevalence of this blond type has been explained by some anthropologists as the result of intermixture with the native populations, but this view is contradicted by the presence of fair-haired Jews in the north of Africa and in Syria, which are not inhabited by blond peoples, as well as by the presence of blond types among the Samaritan Jews who have scrupulously safeguarded their racial purity. The causes of these diverse types among Jews must not be sought in their kinship or supposed intermixture with alien races, but in the forces of nature that originally determined the genesis of these respective types among other groups of the human race. The differentiation of pigmentation, as Dr. Zollschan has shown,¹ is the effect of varied climatic and geographical conditions: it is a protective measure of nature against the injurious chemical and calorific effects of the fierce rays of the sun. The other main characteristic of the Jewish

¹ Dr. Ignaz Zollschan, *Das Rassenproblem* (Vienna, 3rd edition, 1912), p. 123.

✓ type is short-headedness (brachycephaly), the cephalic index of the majority of Jews being estimated by Dr. Judt as ranging from 80 to 83.6.¹ There are, however, many ✓ representatives of the long-headed or dolichocephalic type, as in Arabia, Morocco, and Algeria. This diversity of head-form is advanced by Dr. Fishberg² as his principal ✓ reason for disputing the racial purity of the Jews, as he maintains that changes in the form of the head can be produced only by racial intermixture. But Professor Franz Boas,³ who has taken measurements of 30,000 immigrants and descendants in New York, has shown that the change ✓ of environment from Europe to America has a potent influence upon such racial traits as stature, head-form, and complexion. East-European Jews with brachycephalic heads become long-headed and also increase in stature and weight. A similar phenomenon may also be observed among the immigrants and their descendants in London. Moreover, Nyström⁴ has shown that the shape of the skull can be differently influenced by the pose of the body involved by one's daily occupation and mode of life, and that the increased pressure of brain and blood caused by intense intellectual activity tends to produce brachycephaly. Thus, changes of head-form afford no ✓ proof of racial intermixture. It had long been supposed that the hook-nose is also a salient—if not the most distinctive feature—of the Jewish type, but careful observation among the Jews of Russia and Galicia has shown that from 60 to 80 per cent possess straight or "Greek" noses. The Jewish hook-nose thrives only in the comic papers. That which constitutes the peculiarity of the Jewish nose is not its shape or profile, but, as Joseph Jacobs was the first to point out, "the accentuation and flexibility of the nostrils," a view with which Ripley agrees.⁵

¹ *Jüdische Statistik* (Berlin, 1903), p. 421.

² Dr. M. Fishberg, *The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment* (London, 1911).

³ *Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants* (Washington, 1910).

⁴ Dr. Ignaz Zollschan, *Das Rassenproblem*, p. 90.

⁵ Art. "Nose," in *Jewish Encyclopædia*, ix.

The predominance of the brachycephalic type among the Jews has led to a revision of the traditional view as regards their Semitic origin, since the peoples of the so-called Semitic stock were dolichocephalic. Even Jewish writers who are in favour of Jewish nationalist aspirations, such as Dr. Zollschan and Dr. Judt, have discarded the conventional theory of the origin of their people. Dr. Zollschan has pointed out that it is absurd to speak of the Semitic race at all, as this term, like the collateral expression Aryan, simply applies to a family group of languages, but affords no indication of the racial kinship of those among whom they are spoken. According to Zollschan the Jews, at the time of their entry upon the arena of history, were the product of an amalgamation of the peoples of North Africa with those of South-Western Asia, and they were particularly influenced by the Assyrian and Babylonian elements among the latter as regards their complexion. Judt, on the other hand, believes that the Hittites formed the physical nucleus of the Jews, who owe to them their distinctive physiognomical traits, whilst according to Professor von Luschan the three principal elements in the composition of the Jewish type were the Semites, the Aryan Amorites, and the Hittites. But although it is impossible to establish with exactitude the genesis of the Jewish type, since anthropological science still provides a field of heated conflict, it is sufficient to know that according to unbiassed authorities the racial amalgamation of which the Jews are the product took place some four thousand years ago and that the Jewish type has been preserved intact to the present day.

The evidence of history strongly supports the view that the Jewish race did not suffer any appreciable influx of alien blood in Europe. The Jewish community in almost every town was both locally and socially segregated from the rest of the population. There was a widespread feeling of hostility between Jews and Gentiles throughout the Middle Ages, which afforded little encouragement to mixed marriages, and both Synagogue and Church strictly forbade such unions. Moreover, the Rabbis discouraged pro-

selytism, and the records of conversion show that the Jewish community lost far more in deserters than it gained in proselytes. The only notable exception consisted of the Chazars, a people of Turkish origin, who formed an independent kingdom in the south of Russia from the seventh to the eleventh century, and whose ruling classes embraced Judaism in 620.¹ But the descendants of these Jewish converts were subsequently absorbed among the Karaites, who do not intermarry with orthodox Jews, and thus they cannot form an argument against the purity of the Jewish race. In any case the amount of the inter-
✓ marriage with Jews is known not to have been great, and its physical effects must have been eliminated in the course of a few generations as small admixtures from an alien stock leave no anthropological trace behind them. Mixed marriages, so far as has been ascertained, are less fertile than purely Jewish marriages, owing either to racial incongruity or to the characteristics of the social stratum in which they mostly take place, and all but a tenth of the offspring of such unions go over to Christianity.² It may therefore be safely concluded that the Jews are com-
✓ paratively free from any strain of alien blood derived from the nations of Europe, whatever admixture they may have themselves contributed to these nations. Beyond the zone of the Western world, however, there are indeed three historic cases of alien intermixture with Jewish blood : the Jews of Abyssinia, known as Falashas, who claim descent from the retinue of Menelik, the son of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and who present a negroid type ; the Black Jews of India, and the small and dwindling colony of Chinese Jews at Kai-Fung-Foo. But these abnormal types are comparatively few in number, and, owing to their remoteness and isolation, they cannot be considered as affecting the purity of the general body of the Jewish race.

If we desire a concrete and impartial testimony that the
✓ Jewish type has not undergone any appreciable alteration

¹ According to A. Harkavy, *Meassef Niddahim*, i. ; other authorities give 740 as the date of conversion.

² Cf. bk. vi. chap. iii., " Drift and Apostasy."

✓in Europe during the last two thousand years, we shall find it in the imposing monuments that have been brought to light from the buried cities of Babylonia. The bas-reliefs of Hebrew prisoners taken by Shishak in 973 B.C.E., and of the inhabitants of Lachish who submitted to Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E., present a striking resemblance to the predominant Jewish type of the present day. The preservation of this type from so remote a period is due primarily to racial evolution and successive centuries of inbreeding, but it is not less due to common national experiences which have endowed it with specific qualities of a physical and moral order. Behind the walls of the Ghetto the Jewish type was carefully protected from the influence of its alien environment, and there it also received a special impress, the product of exile and oppression. The chronic outbreaks of massacre and banishment, the unceasing reign of petty despotism, economic misery and nervous alarm, have wrought traces upon the organism of the Jew; they have bent and stunted his body, whilst they have sharpened his mind and brightened his eye; they have given him a narrow chest, feeble muscles, and pale complexion; they have stamped his visage with a look of pensive sadness, as though ever brooding upon the wrongs of ages. But the frame that has endured and survived so much suffering is also endowed with a high degree of resistance.

In the remotest regions there may be found Jews of a similar type, as in Aden and Galicia, in Egypt and Persia, in Samarcand and Palestine,¹ and yet we cannot assert that there is a single uniform type at the present day. A few hours' careful observation among the Jewish inhabitants of a Western city, or even a few moments' scrutiny among the delegates at a Zionist Congress, would soon reveal the existence of varied types. The cause of this variation is not far to seek; it consists in the influence of local environment, which forces upon the Jewish physiognomy some of the traits of the predominant type, a process favoured in

¹ W. Z. Ripley, in *The Races of Europe* (New York, 1899), has published photographs showing the similarity between Jewish types of Russia, Caucasus, Arabia, Syria, Tunis, Bokhara, and India.

Western countries by the increase of social intercourse with non-Jews as well as by the preference of the non-Jewish type for marriage both by Jew and Jewess. Thus it is that several eminent Jews of the last fifty years have had little similarity to the average racial type ; Cesare Lombroso in Italy, Sir Julian Goldsmid in England, George Brandes in Denmark, Baron Maurice de Hirsch in France, have all shown a marked resemblance to the characteristic type of their native country, whilst Dr. Theodor Herzl, on the other hand, recalled the majestic presence of an Assyrian emperor. But although these types show a divergence from what is popularly called the Jewish type, there is no ground for denying the existence of the latter as is done by some writers, since the majority of Jews present—to use a mathematical term—the highest common factor of physical and physiological characteristics distinguishing them from non-Jews. The truest statement of the position would be that there is a variety of Jewish types, each possessing an unmistakable Jewish factor and yet presenting a certain resemblance to the predominant local type which results from the unconscious mimicry of muscular movements. This difference has been characterized as a difference in the social type of Jewry, which helps us to read in the face of each Jew the land of his origin, and to see whether he is a native of Russia, Germany, England, or America. That which is popularly known as the Jewish expression is found mostly among those who live in or originate from Eastern communities, and it has even been observed to develop at a later age in the case of some who have not had it in their youth, but, on the whole, it diminishes among those who have constant intercourse with non-Jews and who live beyond the influence of a Jewish atmosphere.

✓ The physiological characteristics of the Jew are not due to any organic peculiarities of a racial origin, but to social, historic, and economic causes. Having dwelt for nearly two thousand years in towns, and for the greater period in the most insalubrious and congested quarters, and having ✓ been compelled to endure all manner of persecution in his struggle for existence, he possesses a constitution that com-

✓ bines a poor muscular development with a highly developed nervous system. His average height in Eastern Europe is five feet three or four inches, whilst that of the Jewish immigrants in the United States is five feet five inches¹; but the native Jews both of New York and London are taller than their foreign parents and thus demonstrate how susceptible is the physique of the Jew to the influence of environment. The inferiority of the Eastern Jew in chest development is still more striking. Among healthy and normally developed people the girth of the chest equals or even exceeds half the stature, but this proportion is far from common among the Jewish masses of Russia, who present a larger percentage of military recruits with deficient chest-measurement than any other subject-people of the Tsar. Investigations spread over twelve years (1886-97) have shown that among every 1000 Jewish conscripts there were 491 whose chest-measurement was less than half their height, whilst among 1000 Christian conscripts there were only 128.² Dr. Max Mandelstamm, of Kiev, who had exceptional facilities for studying the physical conditions of the Jews in the Russian Pale, cites without reservation the testimony of military physicians that 60 per cent of the Jewish recruits have a deficient chest circumference.³ The Russian military authorities have accordingly lowered the standard of their requirements for Jewish subjects.

✓ Despite his pallid face and feeble frame the Jew displays a remarkable strength in resisting disease. Cooped up in the poorest, the most crowded and insanitary districts of great cities, where the air is foul and the light is bad, he succeeds in living to a great and even venerable age. Denied the boon of invigorating his stock with the blood of a country-bred element, an advantage open to all other nations, he nevertheless succeeds in perpetuating his line to a fourth and fifth generation. The secret of his health and longevity ✓ lies wholly in his mode of life, which is prescribed and

¹ *The Immigrant Jew in America*, p. 282 (New York, 1907).

² *Jüdische Statistik*, p. 306.

³ *Report of Physical Condition of the Jews*, Fourth Zionist Congress, London, 1900.

fashioned by law and custom. But some of his immunity from certain diseases may rightly be referred to heredity, for a stock that has survived the perils and persecutions of many ages must have inevitably become stiffened in the process. The most tangible grounds of the good health of the Jew, however, consist in the dietary and hygienic laws which he observes as faithfully as the Ten Commandments, in his notable sobriety, in the weekly Sabbath rest, and in the quietude and purity of his family life. The legislation of the Bible and the Talmud was directed to secure the physical as well as the spiritual welfare of mankind, and all the religious codes accepted by orthodox Jewry preserve and emphasize this principle. The prohibition of certain beasts, birds and fish, as unclean for food, the careful examination of animals after slaughter to see that they are free from any disease of the lungs or pleura, and the draining of the blood from meat before cooking, combine to protect the body from elements that might be injurious and diminish the liability to contract such maladies as bovine tuberculosis, trichiniasis, and typhoid fever. The cleanliness of the person is secured by a strict insistence upon the use of baths and ablutions as almost a religious duty. The hands and face must be washed in the morning before any food is touched ; the hands must always be washed after relieving nature and after touching any part of the body that is usually covered, and they must likewise be washed before every meal. The Jew, moreover, laves his hands again after the meal, before uttering grace. A bath is prescribed before Sabbaths and festivals, and the *Mikvah* or ritual bath (which must contain at least 120 gallons of water) must be visited by every woman at least once a month.¹ The ritual observance of these practices is slowly falling into desuetude in Western countries, but it is faithfully upheld in Eastern communities. The cleanliness of the home is secured by the scrubbing and cleaning of the living rooms on the eve of every Sabbath and festival, and by the thorough scouring

¹ In Germany, of 1400 Jewish communities, 772 have a *Mikvah*. In Russia there is hardly a single community without one (*Z. f. Dem. u. Stat.*, 1912, p. 87). In Western countries it is being replaced by the domestic bath.

and scraping of every nook and cranny in the house-walls, ✓ woodwork, floors, furniture, on the eve of Passover, the latter process being more thorough, if anything, than the usual English spring cleaning.

The salutary effect of these dietary and hygienic ✓ regulations is supplemented by moderation in alcoholic indulgence, for although the Jew drinks wine for the ceremonial of sanctification on Sabbaths and feasts and takes spirits on all festive occasions, he knows how to set a discreet limit to his appetite. There are no temperance leagues in Jewry, and yet in no other community is the number of drunkards or of those suffering from alcoholic excess so small in proportion. The perfect repose both of body and mind secured by the Sabbath and by the more important festivals, which amount to thirteen days in the year, affords an excellent means of recuperation from toil and worry, for these religious celebrations are free from those drinking bouts which desecrate what should be the solemn days of other communities. And a further series of important factors consist in the early age of marriage, the sanctity of the family tie, and the devotion which parents lavish upon the upbringing of children. Finally, the whole ✓ philosophy of the Jew is coloured by the view that life is a very precious thing, and that everything may be sacrificed to its preservation. The guiding principle of the Rabbis, based on the dictum of the Pentateuch (Lev. xviii. 5), was that the laws and statutes of the Bible were given that man might live by them and not die through them.¹ Hence they declared that in case of danger to life one might commit any transgression except idolatry, murder, and adultery;² and the relaxation they allowed had special application to the Sabbath, on which the doctor might heal the sick, though all other work was forbidden.

In the light of this hygienic dispensation it is not ✓ surprising that the Jews everywhere have a lower rate of mortality than the people among whom they live, even though they generally dwell in the most crowded and insanitary districts. In no country that has been investigated does their

¹ Talmud, *Yoma*, 85b.

² *Pesachim*, 25a.

annual mortality exceed 20 per 1000. Between 1876 and 1910 their mortality in Prussia, Bavaria, and Hesse declined from 17·8 to 13·8 per 1000, and in 1911 their mortality in Prussia was 14·1, whilst that of the Christian population was 17·4.¹ In Hungary their death-rate in 1911 was 15·3, as compared with 25·1 per 1000 of the general population ;² and in Vienna, in 1908, it was only 12·4, contrasting with a mortality of 18·1 per 1000 of the general population.³ They enjoy the same advantage in Eastern Europe too. Thus, in 1903, in Russia, they had a mortality of only 14·5, whilst that of the Orthodox Russians was 32·2, and that of the Mohammedans 24·3 per 1000 ; and in Poland they had a death-rate of 15·8, whilst that of the Catholics was 23.⁴ Similarly, the average death-rate of the Jews in Bulgaria declined between 1891-95 and 1901-04 from 23·10 to 15·49 per 1000, whilst that of the general population only declined from 27·86 to 22·68 ;⁵ and in Rumania the Jewish death-rate between 1907 and 1910 declined from 18·94 to 16·85, whilst that of the general population only declined from 26·4 to 25·38.⁶ The same phenomenon has been corroborated among the Jews in London, Manchester, and New York. In Whitechapel, according to Dr. J. Loane, who gave evidence before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration in 1902, the death-rate of the district in the period 1880-1900, when the Jews settled there in large numbers, declined from 26 to 18 per 1000, and the foreigners have a death-rate of 15·6 as against the native rate of 20 ;⁷ in Manchester during the years 1900-02, the death-rate for the entire city was 21·78, whilst in the Jewish district of Cheetham it was only 16·99 ;⁸ and in New York during the six years ending 31st May 1890, the Jews had a mortality of only 14·85 per 1000, which was lower than that of any other rate in the city.⁹

¹ *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1913, January and September.

² *Ibid.*, p. 118.

³ *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 118.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-44.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1912, p. 16.

⁷ *Minutes of Evidence* (1903), 4538-55.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 799.

⁹ J. S. Billings, *Vital Statistics of the Jews in the United States* (1890).

The favourable position of the Jews in regard to mortality in general is exemplified very strikingly by the rate of infantile mortality, which everywhere forms a good proportion of the general mortality. Thus according to the evidence given before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, the infant mortality increased in London in the period 1886-1900 from 153 to 161 per 1000 births, whilst the Whitechapel district showed a decline from 170 to 144; and in Manchester, in 1898-1901, the infant death-rate was lowest in Cheetham, the figures in 1899 being 104 for this Jewish district and 205 for the whole city.¹ Similarly, investigations have proved that those districts which are mostly inhabited by Jews in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Boston, although the most overcrowded and insanitary, have the lowest rate of child mortality.² In the Grand Duchy of Hesse the average rate of infant mortality in 1906-10 was 129 per 1000 of the Christian population, but among the Jews it was only 72;³ and in Hungary, in 1910, the mortality of Jewish children under seven years of age formed 35·8 per cent of all Jewish deaths, whilst among the Protestants it was 42·1, and among the Catholics 49·7 per cent.⁴ Moreover, in Russia, according to the census of 1897, the infant mortality was 150 per 1000 births among the Jews, whilst it was 154·2 among the Catholics, and 274·3 among the Greek Orthodox;⁵ and in Cracow, which is typical of Galicia, the corresponding average rate for 1894-96 was 155 for the Jews, but 171 for the Christians.⁶

✓ The low death-rate of Jewish children is due to the scrupulous care of the mothers in rearing their offspring. Throughout Eastern Europe Jewesses after marriage very rarely work in factories or at home; they invariably nurse their children at the breast; and in all parts of the world they are known to display an excessive solicitude about

¹ *Minutes of Evidence*, 3960, 21742-46.

² *The Immigrant Jew in America*.

³ *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1913, p. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1912, p. 78.

⁵ *Die sozialen Verhältnisse der Juden in Russland*, p. 29.

⁶ *Die Juden in Oesterreich*, p. 33.

the health of their children and to seek the best medical advice on the least suspicion that anything is wrong. The low rate of the general mortality must be also attributed partly, in addition to the factors previously mentioned, to the nature of the occupations in which Jews engage. The large majority, particularly in Eastern Europe, are merchants or small traders or engage in indoor occupations, and thus belong to the long-lived class. Their avoidance of dangerous trades, such as mining, building, and railway employment, is due not to any deliberate precaution but, for the most part, to the fact that such occupations would involve, more seriously than others, regular isolation from the Jewish community and violation of the Sabbath. We are thus led to the conclusion that the low mortality of Jewry is due in the main to its specific social, hygienic, and economic conditions, a view that is supported by the fact that the death-rate of the Jews is smallest where they live apart, whilst it increases where they freely intermingle with their non-Jewish neighbours.¹ But apart from all these considerations it is only natural that the Jews, who have waged such a long and stubborn fight against the forces of destruction, should have acquired a certain ingenuity in the art of defeating Death.

The favourable conditions of health enjoyed by the Jews may be illustrated by examining the degree of their liability to various diseases. Contagious maladies, which work with such rapid and pernicious effects among most peoples, do not attack them at all so seriously, despite the apparent opportunities offered by a Ghetto environment.² In 1909 there was an outbreak of cholera in Vitebsk, in the Russian Pale, which (according to the census of 1897) contains 34,420 Jews and 31,299 non-Jews, but whilst 472 non-Jews were attacked, of whom 219 died, only 186 Jews were attacked, of whom 70 died. The morbidity of

¹ Among American Jews the death-rate of the native-born is 9·16 per cent, but that of the foreign-born 7·61 per cent (*Jewish Encyclopædia*, vol. ix., art. "Mortality").

² In the Middle Ages the Black Death, which carried away so many thousands of people, left the Jews almost untouched, and hence they were accused of causing the death of others by poisoning the wells.

the Jews was thus only 5, and that of their neighbours 15 per 1000.¹ The Jews are also more immune than their ✓ neighbours from typhoid fever. Thus in Budapest, in 1886, their mortality from this disease was only 46 per 100,000, whilst that of the Catholics was 66, and of the Lutherans 76.² And in New York, during the six years ending 31st May 1900, their mortality from typhoid was only 9·19 per 100,000, a lower rate than that of any other people. They suffer less from smallpox, as they practise ✓ vaccination regularly, and in the epidemic of 1900-03 in New York they were almost completely immune, as they were in the outbreak in Manchester in 1902.³ They are ✓ less liable to pneumonia as their indoor occupations do not expose them to the rigours of the weather or the chilling of the body; and as they are not habitual drunkards they can offer a more effective resistance to the disease. On the other hand, owing to their being mostly townsfolk ✓ with indoor occupations, they are very liable to chronic ✓ bronchitis and asthma; and heart disease claims a great number of victims, owing partly to their unusually severe struggle for existence and partly to their containing a large proportion of old persons, who are naturally liable to the malady. In the United States the Jewish mortality from heart disease is double that of the general population. Rheumatism is also common, and so are varicose veins, especially among women, owing to their sedentary habits and their frequent pregnancy. A special form of the latter affection consists of hemorrhoids, which are more prevalent among Jews than among other people. This malady is particularly common among the Jews of Eastern Europe: its causation is due to a sedentary life, and is generally attributed to sitting nearly the whole day on the hard benches of the *Beth Hamidrash*, studying the Talmud. Cancer is believed to be less frequent among

¹ *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1912, p. 63.

² J. von Körösi in *Publikationen des Statistischen Bureaus, Budapest* (Berlin, 1898).

³ *Minutes of Evidence*, Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, 21,794.

Jews than among non-Jews, though among the former it is more liable to attack the gastro-intestinal organs ; on the other hand, cancer of the breast is less frequent among Jewish than non-Jewish women.

Whether Jews show any particular immunity in regard to consumption is still a matter of dispute, though the bulk of the evidence would seem to be in their favour. Investigations made in Russia, New South Wales, and London show that the Jews are less liable than their neighbours to this disease. In 1897 the Jewish Board of Guardians of London appointed a committee to inquire into the alleged increasing prevalence of consumption among the Jewish poor with a view to adopting preventive measures, but the inquiry established the fact that there had not been any increase of this disease during the previous fifteen years.¹ Dr. J. S. Billings has shown that the death-rate from consumption in New York and Brooklyn for the six years ending 31st May 1900 was lowest among the Jewish population, a result confirmed by Dr. M. Fishberg, who has made investigations in the New York Ghetto, showing that the death-rate from this disease was 565·06 per 100,000 among non-Jews, but only 110·56 among Jews.² The pursuit of sedentary occupations, such as tailoring and boot-making, in the crowded dwellings of congested districts in big cities, would lead one to expect a greater frequency of this malady among Jews, but there are counteracting factors in the careful inspection of their meat, the rarity of alcoholism, the regular cleaning of the house, and their general employment in trades that do not expose them to the inclemency of the weather. The eating of *kosher* meat and the moderate indulgence in intoxicants would seem to be the two chief causes for checking the ravages of consumption. On the other hand, diseases of the digestive organs, such as nervous dyspepsia and diabetes, are rather frequent causes of death, being due largely to excessive anxiety and a lack of proper exercise. Whether Jews are more often attacked

¹ *British Medical Journal*, 2nd July, 1898.

² *The Immigrant Jew in America*, p. 329.

by diabetes than their neighbours is another moot point, but Dr. Fishberg has shown that it is mostly a question of the nativity of the Jews, those in Germany falling easier victims to the malady than their co-religionists in Russia, France, or England.¹ The extent to which Jews are liable to diseases of the digestive organs is evidenced by the large numbers in which they flock every summer to such watering-places on the Continent as Carlsbad and Marienbad. Of eye diseases trachoma is rather frequent among the Jews of Eastern Europe, owing to their insanitary surroundings, but effective measures of prevention and healing have been adopted in recent years in consequence of this ailment being a ground for the exclusion of immigrants seeking to enter England or America. Of skin diseases eczema is said to be more common among Jews than among non-Jews, a phenomenon also due to an insanitary environment. Sexual diseases are notably less common, the comparative immunity being due partly to superiority in moral relations, partly to moderation in intoxicants, and partly to circumcision; but the favourable position of the Jew in this respect is slowly receding in Western countries in which there is increasing intercourse with the non-Jewish population.

The position of the Jewish child in regard to disease, as can be deduced from its comparatively low death-rate, is strikingly favourable and is due to the greater devotion and care exercised by the mother both before and after birth. Jewish children succumb less frequently than others to diphtheria, croup, measles, and whooping-cough, but they more often die from scarlet fever. They show a better resistance to infantile diarrhoea, the mortality from which is only about a third of that among non-Jewish infants. They are also less liable to rickets, atrophy, and scrofula. Striking evidence on this point was given before the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration by Dr. W. Hall of Leeds, who found 50 per cent of the Christian children in a poor school suffering from rickets, but only 8 per cent of the children in a school

¹ *Jewish Encyclopædia*, vol. iv., art. "Diabetes."

of the better class, whereas in a Jewish school of poor children he found only 7 per cent attacked by this ailment.¹

The liability of the Jews to nervous diseases is a subject of peculiar and pathetic interest. Distinguished by the superiority of their nervous over their muscular system, they are more prone to mental affections than other people in whom the nervous system is relatively less highly developed. According to various authorities the frequency of mental diseases among Jews is four to five times higher than among non-Jews. It is chiefly nervous diseases of a functional order, however, to which they are subject, particularly neurasthenia and hysteria, the latter being found among males to a notable degree. Raymond has actually asserted that the Jewish population of Warsaw forms an inexhaustible source of supply of hysterical males for the clinics of the whole Continent.² On the other hand, Jews are less liable to organic nervous diseases than non-Jews, thanks to the comparative infrequency among them of alcoholism and syphilis. Their peculiar position in respect to these disorders is due to a combination of historic and social factors. They have had to endure an endless cycle of persecutions ever since their exile from Palestine; they have been almost exclusively denizens of towns throughout that period, denied the stimulating influx of country blood; and they have largely been engaged in intellectual or commercial pursuits and been exposed to the worry and anxiety incidental thereto. These factors, operating for so long a period and over so wide an area, have rendered the Jewish nervous system peculiarly susceptible of attack, and they continue to exert undiminished sway to the present day throughout Eastern Europe. The persistent espionage and oppression, the chronic pogroms and the daily fear of their recurrence, to which the Jews in Russia are exposed have wrought disastrous effects among them—driving hundreds, nay thousands, into an incurable state of insanity. According to the Russian census of 1897

¹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 19th August, 1904.

² *L'Étude des Maladies du Système Nerveux en Russie*, p. 71 (Paris, 1889).

the Jews had 9·84 mentally diseased in every 10,000, whilst the Russians had only 9·54 and the Poles 8·51.¹ This unfavourable proportion has probably since become worse in consequence of the wholesale massacres of Jews in the autumn of 1905 and the sporadic outrages that broke out in the following year, the type of affection to which they are subject being more frequently melancholia rather than mania. In addition to these factors one must also take into consideration the early age at which the Jewish child begins his education; his religious, if not his secular education, begins as early as the age of four or five, and throughout the greater part of Eastern Europe it is conducted mostly in an overcrowded and ill-ventilated room which often forms the entire home of the teacher. An important point that must be borne in mind, however, in regard to the comparative frequency of insanity among Jews is that they are almost exclusively an urban population, whilst almost half of the non-Jewish world lives in the country: thus a Jewish lunatic must invariably be brought into a public asylum, a necessity that operates to a less degree in the case of Gentile lunatics, and hence the disproportion between recorded Jewish and non-Jewish lunatics can to a certain extent be discounted. Despite the relatively high degree, however, in which Jews are attacked by nervous ailments, they are comparatively free from the severer or fatal forms of these diseases. Thus the mortality of the Russian Jews in New York from nervous maladies in the six years ending 31st May 1890 was 117·68 per 100,000,² whilst that of the Bohemians was 336·76, of the white Americans 293·48, and of the Irish 242·44.

Although insanity is the most potent predisposing cause of suicide, self-destruction is on the whole comparatively rare among the Jews. The reason is to be sought in the controlling influence of religion, which is a recognized deterrent of self-murder, as well as in the traditional view of the Jew in looking upon life as something sacred. Throughout the crowded Jewish centres in Eastern Europe,

¹ *Die sozialen Verhältnisse der Juden in Russland*, p. 68 (Berlin, 1906).

² *The Immigrant Jew in America*, p. 299.

where orthodoxy has its stronghold, suicide is a very infrequent phenomenon: only in periods of pogroms, when Jewish wives are dishonoured and Jewish girls are outraged, is there a notable manifestation of suicidal tendency. The cause is certainly sufficient. There is an appreciable difference, however, in the rate of suicide among different grades of Jewish society, its incidence being much more frequent among the rich than among the poor. Thus, in Austria, where the economic position of the Jews is low, the number of suicides is 20 per 100,000; and in Galicia, where the Jews are even worse off, it is 10 per 100,000; whilst in Baden and Bavaria, where they are on the whole in comfortable circumstances, the rate is 140.¹ The most significant feature in regard to self-murder among the Jews is its comparative increase in Western Europe and America, thus displaying one of the deleterious influences of modern civilization upon Jewish life. In these Western lands, where the struggle of life is keener and the bases of faith are weaker, the despair of the Jew finds a quicker outlet in self-destruction than in the Jewish centres of Eastern Europe, where there is not only a stronger faith in Providence, but where also the social stigma attaching to the family of a suicide acts as a potent deterrent. The increase in the rate of suicide in Western Jewry has become most striking during the last fifty years, the period that has witnessed the growth of emancipation and westward migration; and it is particularly noteworthy in Prussia, where the statistics of the ten years 1890-1901 show that whilst the rate among the non-Jewish population of that country has remained almost stationary, it has increased among the Jews from 18 to 32 per 100,000.

Although modern Jewry has such a favourable record in regard to mortality and disease, it has a remarkably diminishing birth-rate, which is lower than the birth-rate of the general population in all the countries of Europe. Thus, in Prussia, Bavaria, and Hesse together the average Jewish birth-rate sank from 31.6 per 1000 in 1876-80 to

¹ *Jewish Encyclopædia*, vol. xi., art. "Suicide."

17·6 in 1901-10, and in Prussia alone, in 1911, it was as low as 15·4.¹ This contrasts very unfavourably not only with the Christian birth-rate in Prussia, 29·7 per 1000, and with the general birth-rate for Germany, 28·7, but also with that of France in 1911, 18·9, which is commonly regarded as the lowest birth-rate in Europe. In Austria the Jewish birth-rate declined between 1899 and 1909 from 35·72 to 28·80 per 1000, and in Hungary between 1901-05 and 1906-10 from 31·4 to 28·6, falling again in 1911 to 26·9 (compared with 35·1 per 1000 of the general population).² Even in the countries farther east, where traditional piety still has its stronghold, the ancient ideal of being fruitful and multiplying is steadily waning. Thus, in Galicia the Jewish births between 1899 and 1909 declined from 41·41 to 34·40 per 1000 (probably partly due to the large emigration); and in Rumania, between 1903 and 1910, they declined from 32·29 to 29·33, whilst the birth-rate of the general population increased from 40·14 to 50·11³; and in Bulgaria, between 1891-95 and 1907, they declined from 37·58 to 32·27, whilst the birth-rate of the general population rose from 37·49 to 43·85.⁴ The same phenomenon has also manifested itself in Russia, where between 1900 and 1903 the Jewish birth-rate declined from 36·14 to 29·13, which contrasts strikingly with the birth-rate of the Greek Orthodox, 51·3 per 1000;⁵ and in Poland likewise the Jews have the lowest birth-rate of any denomination, 30, that of the Greek Orthodox being 43·26 per 1000.

This diminution of the birth-rate has altered the composition of the Jewish family, for whilst most families contained four to six children even as recently as twenty years ago, they now have only two to four, and there is an increasing tendency to restrict the number to two. The cause of this diminution is mainly to be found in the increase of celibacy and the postponement of marriage, with the

¹ *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1913, January and September.

² *Ibid.*, 1912, pp. 78 and 135; 1913, p. 118.

³ *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1911, pp. 39-44.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1912, p. 16.

consequent curtailment of the period of fertility, due to the increased standard of comfort and education; whilst a subsidiary cause consists in the prudential restraints and the sterilizing effect of nervous irritability prevalent among educated classes. These causes operate, it is true, amongst nearly all town-dwellers, Jewish or Gentile; but the Jews are almost exclusively a town-people, whereas the Christians are to a large extent a rural folk whose high birth-rate counter-balances the low birth-rate of the town population. To such a degree has celibacy now spread in modern Jewry that its marriage-rate has sunk below that of the Christian population almost throughout Europe. In Germany, in 1911, the marriage-rate of the general population was 7·80 per 1000, but that of the Jews was only 7·08; and in Hungary, in the same years, the figures were respectively 9·2 and 8·3 per 1000.¹ The same phenomenon has also manifested itself farther east. Thus, in Bulgaria, in 1907, the marriage-rate of the general population was 9·88 per 1000, but that of the Jews only 7·13²; and in Rumania, in 1910, the figures were respectively 9·44 and 6·09 per 1000.³ In Russia too the traditional ideal of founding a family is on the wane; thus in 1903, whilst the marriage-rate of the Mohammedans was 11·4 per 1000 and that of the Greek Orthodox 9·2, that of the Jews was only 7·2, and in Poland it was as low as 6·1.⁴

The diminishing birth-rate of the Jews is partly counter-balanced by their low rate of mortality, but the advantage that they possess in this respect is limited in effect, and the net result is a lower rate of natural increase than that of the general population. Thus, in Germany, in 1905-10, the general population increased by 7·06 per cent (the Protestants by 6·23 and the Catholics by 7·74 per cent), whilst the Jews increased only by 1·17 per cent.⁵ In Holland, in 1899-1909, the general population increased by 14·77 per cent, but the Jews only by 1·12 per cent.⁶ Similarly, in Austria (1901-10) the addition to the general population

¹ *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1913, p. 119.

² *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, 1912, p. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1911, pp. 39-44.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1912, p. 160.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 166.

was 9·26 per 1000, whilst the Jewish increase was only 7·25, and in Galicia, in the same decade, the Greek and Roman Catholics increased by 8·67 and 11·64 per cent, whilst the Jewish increase was only 7·62 per cent; in Rumania (1910) the figures were 14·82 and 12·13 respectively; and in Russia (1903) the addition to the Greek Orthodox population was 19 per 1000, whilst that of the Jewish population was only 14·8 per 1000. The effect of this diminishing rate of increase is that the Jews form a diminishing proportion of the general population in many European countries where there is no powerful stream of immigration. In Germany, in 1870, there were 125 Jews in every 10,000 of the population, but in 1910 there were only 95. This diminution was also partly due to apostasy and emigration, and it would even have assumed larger proportions but for the influx of Jews from Eastern Europe. Similarly, in Austria, in 1890, there were 478 Jews in every 10,000 of the population, but in 1910 the proportion had fallen to 459¹; and in Italy, between 1861 and 1901 the proportion fell from 13·31 to 10·96 per 10,000 of the total population.² The declining rate of increase of the Jews is in itself an ominous sign for the future; whilst the diminishing proportion which they form of the general population in so many countries is a further disquieting factor, as it exposes them in a steadily increasing measure to the forces of assimilation.

¹ *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, October 1912.

² *Ibid.*, January 1905.

BOOK III

THE POLITICAL ASPECT

INTRODUCTION

The diversity of political status and its consequences

✓ **L**ESS than one-half of the Jews in the world are in possession of the same civil rights as their non-Jewish neighbours ; the majority are still in bondage. This simple statement sums up the political status of modern Jewry and illustrates the ethical justice of modern Christendom. "Peace and goodwill unto all" was the gladsome message of the Saviour that Christendom owes to Jewry, but war and ill-will were the sinister policy practised by the nations against the Jews for eighteen centuries thereafter. The relentless foe of the Jews throughout the Middle Ages was the Church, which dominated the destinies of the State in almost every country in which they were settled, and which regarded all who stood outside her fold as the fit prey of humiliating restrictions and ruinous taxation. They owed their first breath of liberty in Europe, not to any clemency on the part of the Church, but to a movement which swept her power away and set up in her place the goddess of Reason. It was the French Revolution ✓ which first released the people of Israel from the shackles of mediævalism and endowed them with the rights of human beings, though this act of liberalism was even anticipated by the United States by a few years. The step was too bold and revolutionary to be followed immediately by other countries : most of them, after protracted internal struggles, did not admit their Jewish subjects to the rights of citizen-

ship until the middle of the nineteenth century, the order in which they effected this measure reflecting the march of the idea of toleration. But although we are now in the second decade of the twentieth century, the principle of toleration, acclaimed as the crowning virtue of modern civilization, ✓has not yet penetrated through the frontiers of Russia and Rumania. Six million human beings are there condemned to a state of servitude to which the annals of history offer no parallel, their only crime being that they were born Jews. Their sole escape from the mediæval barbarity of their modern oppressors is in emigration, and to this one hundred thousand are compelled to resort every year. Had it not been for the ceaseless persecution in Russia and Rumania the Jewish communities in England, America, and the British Colonies would still have been insignificant in numbers, for the Jew loves his native land and does not leave it to seek a home elsewhere unless he is driven by necessity. The fears and suspicions formerly entertained by the countries that have emancipated their Jewish subjects have long been dispelled, for the latter have universally proved a benefit to the State and manifested their patriotism in abundant measure: they have contributed to the advancement of their country's welfare in the arts of peace, they have fought its battles (repeatedly arrayed against one another), they have actively participated in its civic and political life, and they have risen to positions of eminence in its Government councils. But although they are legally endowed with civil and political rights their enjoyment of ✓them in some countries is restricted by official hostility or embittered by social prejudice. The complete emanci- ✓pation of the Jewish people is an ideal still hidden beyond the range of prophetic vision.

CHAPTER I

THE ACQUISITION OF CIVIL RIGHTS

Mediæval disabilities—The liberating effects of the French Revolution—Napoleon and the Paris Sanhedrin—Emancipation in Italy and in Holland—Protracted struggle in Germany—Austria—Hungary—The struggle in England—The United States and British Colonies—Other Countries

THE first serious attempt to liberate the Jews from the civil and political disabilities imposed upon them in the greater part of mediæval Europe began in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Their disabilities varied in different countries in kind and severity, but they all agreed in so far as the Jews were denied the ordinary rights of citizenship. They were restricted in domicile, in trade, and in the practice of public worship; they could not own land; they were excluded from schools and universities and denied any share in civil and political affairs; they were subjected to a poll-tax which was exacted whenever they passed from one province into another, and they were mulcted in taxes by kings and bishops, in return for a protection which was constantly threatened by the populace. In short, they had no right except the right to exist, and this was exposed to so many wrongs that it was felt as a burden itself. Their disabilities in England were not so galling or burdensome as on the Continent, for here they enjoyed liberty of domicile from their resettlement in 1655 and were free from the humiliation of a poll-tax; but the spirit of toleration in England a hundred and sixty years ago was still in such a primitive condition that an Act for the naturalization of the Jews passed in

1753 had to be repealed the same year owing to a fierce storm of protest all over the kingdom.

The first country in which the Jews in Europe were granted complete civil equality was France. As early as 1748 Montesquieu had raised his voice on behalf of the Marannos or "secret Jews" in Portugal, and it was in his country that the seed of toleration, assiduously sown by the philosophers of reason, first ripened into fruit. The initial stage in the process of liberation was the removal of the commercial disabilities to which the Jews of Alsace were exposed in addition to the burdens of tribute that pressed heavily upon all the Jews of France alike. Confined to particular districts and restricted in the matter of trade to dealing in cattle and jewellery, the Jews of Alsace were compelled to engage in money-lending, and the unwillingness or inability of the Christian borrowers to repay their loans provoked a popular agitation against the Jews. Hence the latter, in 1780, presented a petition to Louis XVI for the removal of their trade disabilities, which was granted; and four years later a decree was issued for the abolition of the poll-tax and the conferment of free choice of domicile. But it was not until 1789 that freedom of religious worship was accorded by the National Assembly in response to the powerful advocacy of Mirabeau and Abbé Grégoire, who pleaded for the extension of the Rights of Man to the Jew. Within the last two weeks of that memorable year the question arose of admitting all citizens, without distinction of creed, to the public service. Again Mirabeau and Grégoire championed the cause of the Jews, but as the Alsatian deputies offered violent opposition a compromise was agreed upon. The Portuguese Jews of Avignon, who had hitherto enjoyed civil rights as naturalized Frenchmen, and against whom there was no hostility, were endowed with full political rights on 28th January 1790. Their brethren in Alsace had to content themselves for a while with a law assuring them protection and the abolition of all special taxes; but on 27th September 1791, after an ardent appeal by Talleyrand, only a few days before dissolution of the

National Assembly, the complete rights of citizenship were conferred upon the 60,000 Jews of France, who were thus the first Jews in Europe to be placed on a political equality with their neighbours.

The emancipation of the Jews of France was confirmed ✓ by Napoleon, who also brought the first taste of liberty to their brethren in Germany and Italy. There was, indeed, a moment in Napoleon's Egyptian campaign when he was fired by the ambition of restoring Palestine to its ancient owners, but this glorious prospect was made dependent upon the Jews of Africa and Asia enrolling themselves under his banner, and is to-day merely a theme for historic speculation. The Jewish question in France was re-opened by the guild merchants and religious reactionaries of Alsace, who exploited the inability of the peasants of this province to repay their debts to the Jews by petitioning Napoleon to abrogate the civil rights of the Jews. The conqueror resolved to submit the question to the consideration of the Jews themselves. He convened an Assembly of Jewish Notables of France, Germany, and Italy, in order to ascertain whether the principles of Judaism were compatible with the requirements of citizenship, as he wished to fuse the Jewish element with the dominant population. The Assembly, consisting of 111 deputies, met in the Town Hall of Paris on 25th July 1806, and was required to frame replies to twelve questions relating mainly to the possibility of Jewish patriotism, the permissibility of intermarriage between Jew and non-Jew, and the legality of usury. So pleased was Napoleon with the pronouncements of ✓ the Assembly that he summoned a Sanhedrin after the model of the ancient council of Jerusalem to convert them into the decrees of a legislative body. The Sanhedrin, comprising 71 deputies from France, Germany, Holland, and Italy, met under the presidency of Rabbi ✓ Sinzheim, of Strassburg, on 9th February 1807, and adopted a sort of charter which exhorted the Jews to look upon France as their fatherland, to regard its citizens as their ✓ brethren, and to speak its language, and which also ex-

pressed toleration of marriages between Jews and Christians while declaring that they could not be sanctioned by the synagogue. In order to give legal effect to the decision of the Sanhedrin, Napoleon by special decree (17th March 1808) instituted a system of consistories for regulating the constitution of the Jewish community. This system remained in force in France until the passing of the Separation Law in 1905, and still survives in Belgium and Alsace. The culmination of Jewish emancipation in France was reached in 1831, when it was resolved that synagogues and Rabbis, like churches and priests, should be supported by the national treasury.

The Jews of France thus owed no extension of their rights to Napoleon but merely a confirmation of them. Their brethren in other lands, however, owed him a more substantial debt of gratitude. In the new Kingdom of Westphalia, which was under the rule of his brother, Jerome, the Jews were granted complete civil equality in 1808, whilst those in the Hanseatic towns of Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen, were conceded their rights under French pressure in 1811. A similar boon fell to the lot of the Jews of Italy, but both in that country and in the Hanseatic towns it was only of brief duration, for with the downfall of Napoleon there set in a general reaction. Pope Pius VII brought the Inquisition to life again, denuded his Jewish subjects of every freedom, thrust them back again into the Ghetto, and compelled those who lived in Rome to listen to proselytizing sermons. Not until the Revolution of 1848, which shook the foundations of Europe, did this mediæval servitude come to an end. Even then there was a temporary reaction. But when the Papal States in 1859 became the United Kingdom of Italy under Victor Emanuel II, the Jews at last obtained their full emancipation. Not so those in the city of Rome, who had to wait until 1870 before they were released by the Italian legions from Papal bondage.

The only other country in Europe besides France in which the Jews secured their civil emancipation before the end of the eighteenth century was Holland. Upon

the establishment of the Batavian Republic in 1795 the more energetic members of the Jewish community pressed for a removal of the many disabilities under which they laboured. They were compelled to exist as small corporations, so that careful vigilance might be exercised over them; they were excluded from the trades sacred to the guilds; they had to contribute to the support of the Church and its schools, from which they received no benefit; and they had to pay double fees for the registration of marriages. Some of these disabilities were removed in response to vigorous agitation, but the demand for the full rights of citizenship made by the progressive Jews was at first, strangely enough, opposed by the leaders of the Amsterdam community, who feared that civil equality would militate against the conservation of Judaism and declared that their co-religionists renounced their rights of citizenship in obedience to the dictates of their faith. Hence, although the Jews were invited to take part in the elections to the Batavian National Assembly, very few ventured to disobey the prohibition of their leaders. But undeterred by this official opposition a disciple of the school of Mendelssohn, ✓ David Friedrichsfeld, wrote an eloquent plea for the enfranchisement of his brethren, and six distinguished Jews presented a petition for the purpose to the National Assembly. The petition, despite a stormy protest, ✓ triumphed, and on 2nd September 1796 the National Assembly decreed the complete equality of the Jews in the Batavian Republic. In the following year two Jews were elected as deputies for Amsterdam, and any lingering aversion to Jewish emancipation disappeared when one of them, Isaac da Costa Atias, was appointed in 1798 to the high office of President of the Assembly.

The speedy and peaceful attainment of equality in France and Holland forms a striking contrast to the long and bitter struggle that was necessary in Germany. The struggle began in the days of Frederick the Great, who, despite his reputed liberalism of thought, manifested a bigoted hostility to his Jewish subjects. He severely

restricted their numbers in his dominions, limited their marriages, debarred them from the most skilled trades and liberal professions, and exacted heavy taxes for the privilege of his special protection. The high achievements of Moses Mendelssohn in the world of letters, the eloquent tribute of Lessing's *Nathan the Wise* to Jewish character, the vigorous advocacy of Jewish rights by Christian William Dohm in 1781, all failed to make any impression upon the prejudiced monarch. Dohm's pamphlet met with a readier response from a more enlightened monarch, Joseph II of Austria, who abolished many imposts on Jews, allowed them free choice of trades and professions, admitted them to universities and academies, and founded Jewish schools; but unfortunately this spell of toleration terminated with the life of the royal reformer. The first measure of relief secured in Prussia was the removal in 1787 of the poll-tax, and a similar step followed in the Rhineland and Bavaria; but the prevalent hostility to the Jews, from which even the poet Goethe and the philosopher Fichte were not immune, retarded the cause of enfranchisement. It was not until Napoleon broke down the feudal barriers of Central Europe that the dawn of freedom came to the long-suffering communities of Israel. Besides the emancipation of the Jews in Westphalia and the Hanseatic towns, a restricted measure of liberty was given to those in Baden, whilst in the Duchy of Frankfort civil equality was granted at the price of 440,000 florins in 1811. More important still, Frederick William III of Prussia abolished the system of "protected Jews" and in 1812 conceded civil equality, modified by the exclusion of Jews from State offices. In Bavaria and Austria no rights of any kind were granted, and Jews who entered Vienna were subjected to a new poll-tax. In Saxony only a few privileged Jews were allowed in Dresden and Leipzig, and they were heavily taxed and forbidden to build a synagogue. But even the scanty liberties thus hardly wrung were lost as soon as the star of Napoleon sank. Despite the sacrifices made by the Jews in the wars for the emancipation of Prussia they were thrust back into

their former servitude and were even deprived of the commissions they had won in the army. A new foe arose in the form of Christian Germanism, which wished to identify the State and nation with the dominant religion, and the historian Rühls even advocated the restoration of the mediæval badge. At the Congress of Vienna promises were made to improve the Jewish condition, but they remained mere promises, and a worse reaction set in. The Hanse towns expelled the Jews, Frankfort (after pocketing the half-million florins) imposed restrictive laws, and then Austria too enacted special decrees, and Prussia followed suit. Tyrol and parts of Bohemia and Moravia were closed to the Jews; liberty of trade and residence in the country was hampered; and the Ghetto reappeared. The climax was reached in 1819 when a series of riots broke out against the Jews, accompanied by pillage, massacre, and expulsion, which spread from Würzburg to Copenhagen. And yet, so varied was the feeling in the country, the Grand Duchy of Hesse enfranchised its Jews in 1820, whilst from 1815 to 1847 there were twenty-one anomalous laws restricting Jewish liberty in the eight provinces of Prussia. Not until 1848, when Europe was visited by a cycle of Revolutions, was the struggle for the emancipation of the Jews in Prussia, in which Gabriel Riesser, a Jewish lawyer of Hamburg, played the most prominent part, brought to a successful issue by a decree of the National Parliament at Frankfort. The Jews in Hanover and Nassau were granted equality later in the same year, but those in Würtemberg had to wait until 1861, in Baden until 1862, and in Saxony until 1868. Upon the establishment of the North German Confederation in 1869 all religious disabilities were abolished, and the principles of civil equality was extended to all parts of the German Empire upon its foundation in 1870.

The Revolution of 1848 also ushered in the emancipation of the Jews in Austria, and the first parliament that assembled in Vienna after the stirring events of that year contained five Jewish deputies. But upon the abdication of the Emperor Ferdinand in the same year and the acces-

✓ sion of Francis Joseph, a reaction set in, fomented by the clerical party. Jews were expelled from many cities ; their right to hold property was cancelled ; they were forbidden to keep Christian servants ; they were excluded from positions as teachers in public schools ; and they were prohibited to establish congregations in Lower Austria. But the defeat of Austria in the Italian war of 1859 brought it to its senses. Early in 1860 a new legislation was promulgated which conferred upon the Jews of most of the Austrian provinces the right to hold property ; but it was not until the end of 1867 that the complete enfranchisement of Jewry was established both in Austria and Hungary, although it was only as late as 1896 that Judaism was declared by the Parliament of Budapest to be a legally recognized religion.

The tardiness with which the states in Central Europe admitted their Jewish subjects to the full rights of citizenship also characterized the attitude of England. The position of the Jews in this country since their readmission by Oliver Cromwell was, it is true, more favourable than ✓ that of their brethren on the Continent inasmuch as they were not subjected to such degrading hardships as the poll-tax and restriction of residence ; but they suffered under ✓ a number of disabilities which cramped and crippled their civil status, and which were only gradually abolished by ✓ 1870. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they could be debarred from voting at parliamentary elections if the returning officers wished to exercise their powers ; they could be excluded from the Bar if the Inns of Court objected ; they were forbidden to trade within the City of London ; and they were shut out from Parliament, from ✓ high commissions in the army and navy, from degrees and scholarships at the University of Cambridge, and even from attendance at the University of Oxford. The battle for the removal of these disabilities began immediately after the emancipation of the Catholics in 1829, and was vigorously continued for forty years until the Jew was placed upon the same level as his Christian fellow-citizen. In 1831 ✓ the Corporation of London opened its boundaries to Jewish

traders ; in 1833 the first Jew (Francis Goldsmid) was called to the Bar ; and two years later an Act was passed that relieved all voters of the necessity of taking the Oath of Abjuration and thus permitted Jewish electors to exercise the franchise. The efforts of the Jews were directed simultaneously to obtaining the right to hold municipal office and the right to sit in Parliament. They succeeded much earlier in regard to the former right by adopting the tactics of first securing the election of a Jew to office and then procuring the sanction of Parliament for an accomplished fact. Thus, in 1835, David Salomons was elected and allowed to act as Sheriff of London ; ten years later, after he had repeatedly been elected alderman, he was permitted to hold this office too ; and another ten years later, 1855, this untiring champion of Jewish rights was acclaimed Lord Mayor of London. The acquisition of the right to sit in Parliament proved a much more stubborn and protracted process. In 1830 the first Bill for this purpose only passed a first reading in the House of Commons, and from 1833 Bill after Bill was passed by the Commons but rejected by the Lords for a quarter of a century. In 1847 the same tactics were adopted as in the campaign for securing municipal office, but although Baron Lionel de Rothschild was elected member for the City of London in that year and again in 1850, and although David Salomons was elected for Greenwich in 1851 and actually spoke in the House, it was not until 26th July 1858 that the former was able, as the first Jew, to take his seat in the House of Commons by virtue of a resolution to permit Jewish members to omit the words "on the true faith of a Christian" from the oath. In 1870 the University Tests Act enabled Jews to graduate and hold scholarships at the ancient universities ; and in 1885, Sir Nathaniel Rothschild, a son of Baron Lionel de Rothschild, was made a peer, and, as Lord Rothschild, was the first Jew to sit in the House of Lords. Not until 1890, however, was it formally established that all positions in the British Empire, with the sole exception of that of monarch, are open to Jews.¹

¹ A. M. Hyamson, *A History of the Jews in England*, pp. 333-334.

It is not a little curious that England was the last of English-speaking countries to enfranchise its Jews ; but the distinction of being the first country in the world to endow its Jewish subjects with the full rights of citizenship likewise belongs to an English state, namely, the United States of America, the Constitution of which, adopted in 1787, declares that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any public office or public trust." This law of equality was promptly adopted by all the federal states, with the exception of Maryland, where civil rights were not secured until 1820. In Canada these rights were granted in 1832, after an agitation of twenty-five years following the election of a Jew (Ezekiel Hart) to Parliament, which was declared invalid ; in South Africa, in the colonization of which Jews have played a notable part as pioneers, complete equality has prevailed since 1820 ; and in Australia, which Jews have likewise helped to develop, they have enjoyed equality since their settlement.

There remain but a few other countries that claim attention. In Belgium the Jews acquired emancipation in 1815, under the influence of the French Revolution ; in Denmark they were granted equality by the Constitution of 1849 ; in Norway they have enjoyed equality since 1851, when a law forbidding their residence in the country was repealed ; in Sweden they were given the franchise in 1865 and the right of election to Parliament in 1870, but they are still excluded from the Council of State and the Ministry ; and in Switzerland the Federal Government, under outside pressure, decreed the enfranchisement of all its citizens in 1865. Spain in 1858 repealed its edict of expulsion of more than three and a half centuries before, and has recently shown a touching interest in the return of the Sephardim to its borders, whilst Portugal enacted freedom of religion as early as 1825. The Jews of Algeria were made French citizens at a single stroke by a decree of Crémieux in 1870. The Treaty of Berlin in 1878 brought the Jews of Bulgaria and Servia their civil emancipation, and the Turkish Constitution of 1908 conferred equality upon all the Jewish subjects of the Ottoman Empire.

CHAPTER II

SUFFERINGS IN BONDAGE

Conditions in the Orient—Persecution in Russia—The limitation of the right of domicile—The brutality of expulsion—Limitations in education—Limitations in public service and liberal professions—The duty of military service—Chronic oppression—Pogroms—Rumania and the Jews—Violating the Berlin Treaty—A record of disabilities—Present position and outlook

✓ **T**HE saddest feature of the present conditions of the Jewish people consists in the state of bondage to which one-half of its numbers is condemned in Russia and Rumania. Their sufferings in these countries are far more galling and desperate than those of the Jews in certain Oriental lands, as they are caused by laws deliberately enacted by the Government for their degradation and extermination, whereas the misery of the Jews in the other regions mainly arises from the impotence of the Government to protect them from the attacks of the populace. Until the recent establishment of the French and Spanish protectorate in Morocco the Jews in that country were treated as outlaws, cooped up in a Mellah or Ghetto, and exposed to frequent outrages on the part of the fanatical mob or rebel troops, who spared neither property nor life ; but they now enjoy the blessings of security and justice, and their social and economic conditions are gradually improving. In Persia, rent by civil war and haunted by roving bands, the Jews are a prey to degrading disabilities and chronic outrages and are scarcely likely to improve their lot if Russia increases her influence in that decaying dominion. Distressing, too, is the plight of those Jews in Yemen, who have no redress from the daily

assaults to which they are exposed, and who have had to pay the penalty of their loyalty to the Ottoman Government in its recent campaign against the rebel Imam by being condemned by the latter to fresh taxation.¹ But terrible as is the misery in these Eastern lands it is altogether overshadowed by the barbarous oppression inflicted upon the six million Jews within the confines of civilized Europe.

The bondage of the Jews in Russia consists in a multiplicity of laws which rob them of all liberty in the choice of domicile and occupation, which cripple their opportunities of education, limit their right to own property, exclude them from State and municipal service, and impose heavy burdens upon them in regard to military duty. Cruel as all these restrictive laws are they are applied with such caprice and chicanery that the Jews are reduced to a condition of constant panic, from which they cannot always secure intervals of relief even by bribery; whilst the hostile attitude of the Government breeds a spirit of antagonism in the masses too, which finds vent in that diabolical product of Muscovite culture—the pogrom. Established in the dominions of the Tsar for more than two thousand years, ever since the destruction of the first Temple, the Jews have been the sport of a pitiless fate which has made them taste every form of human intolerance and State persecution. From the sixteenth century the dominant policy of the Government towards them has been one of hostility, relieved only by a few intervals of repose. Their oppression first assumed a serious form in the reign of Catherine I (1725–27), who issued a decree of expulsion; under Paul I (1796–1801) and Alexander I (1801–25), they enjoyed a spell of toleration; under Nicholas I (1825–55) the rod of persecution fell heavily upon them—systematic measures were adopted to force them to conversion, and boys from the age of eight were

¹ A moving description of the sufferings of these Jews in South Arabia, settled there for over two thousand years, is given in a pamphlet, *The Yemenite Jews*, by Joshua Feldmann (Speaight & Sons, 1913), who describes their recent emigration to Palestine.

torn from their parents to become soldiers of the Tsar ; under Alexander II (1855-81) they were again allowed to breathe freely and awaited the dawn of their emancipation, but after his assassination they were, under Alexander III plunged once more into the gloom of the mediæval ages, which has settled about them even thicker and heavier during the reign of his son, Nicholas II, despite the mock Constitution proclaimed in 1904. At no period of their history were their hardships so numerous and so burdensome, so degrading and so hopeless, as at present. Let us examine their main features—a detailed survey would demand several volumes—and we may be able to appreciate something of the bitterness of the bondage imposed without shame or scruple by a modern Government upon its innocent subjects.

The most harassing of all the laws that blast the lives of the Jews in Russia are those which limit their right of domicile and clog their liberty of movement. They are confined to a Pale of Settlement which was created in 1769, under the reign of Catherine II, and extended after the final partition of Poland in 1795, when another million Jews came under the iron hand of Russian rule. The Pale of Settlement, as it exists to-day, was substantially fixed in 1835 : it comprises the ten governments or provinces of Poland and fifteen provinces of Lithuania, White Russia, South-Western and Southern Russia, the regions in which the great bulk of the Jews were concentrated and where they were decreed to remain. Later legislation also permitted the native Jews of Courland and parts of Livonia, of the Caucasus and Turkestan, to retain their domicile. By subsequent decrees the Pale of Settlement was curtailed : thus in 1887 the industrial district of Rostoff was cut off, and a few years later the health-resort of Yalta was also declared to be outside the permitted area. The Pale forms about a twenty-fourth of the area of the Russian Empire, whilst the Jews form an almost similar proportion (4·13 per cent) of the total population. The area assigned for Jewish residence, however, is much smaller than that contained within the

boundaries of the Pale, for since May 1882, according to the so-called Temporary May Laws of Count Ignatieff, no further Jews were allowed to settle in the villages in the Pale, and once a Jew left his village he could not return to it or settle in another village and was thus compelled to remove to a town. Moreover, many townlets were later converted, by a mere stroke of a governor's pen, into villages, and thus involved the expulsion of the Jew. The consequence is that fully 95 per cent of the Jews in Russia are crowded into the towns of the Pale, forming as much as two-thirds of the population in many districts, where they are compelled to struggle against all manner of economic evils to keep body and soul together.

The small percentage who are privileged to live in any part of the Empire according to the liberal laws of Alexander II, belong to the following four categories:—

- ✓“(1) Discharged soldiers, after serving their full time;
- ✓(2) merchants of the first Guild (paying a business licence of 800 to 1000 roubles) after having paid that tax within the Pale for five consecutive years, and if they still belong to the first Guild after settling outside the Pale (according to the law also, the merchants may each take with them one Jewish clerk and domestic servants up to four persons);
- ✓(3) graduates of universities and higher institutions of learning in general, as well as students of these institutions, apothecaries and apothecaries' assistants, certificated dentists, non-graduate surgeons, and midwives with their respective assistants and students in these branches;
- ✓(4) mechanics, distillers, brewers, and artisans generally while pursuing their own callings, as well as artisans' apprentices serving their time, but in order to obtain their passport, which has to be renewed periodically, they must produce a certificate of their vocation in accordance with the rules established by law for that purpose.”¹ The privileges accorded to these various classes, however,

¹ *The Legal Sufferings of the Jews in Russia*, edited by Lucien Wolf, p. 31 (T. Fisher Unwin, 1912). This is the latest and best survey of the Jewish disabilities in Russia, and forms the principal authority for the present account.

✓ have, since 1882, been considerably curtailed and even rendered nugatory by harsh interpretations of the laws on the part of the Central Government and the provincial Governors, as well as by reason of the despotic action of the local police. Thus, in 1885, the privilege of the discharged soldiers was declared to be limited to the "Nicholas" soldiers, namely, those who had served prior to 1874, a class that is dying out; and hence the 18,000 Jewish soldiers who are drafted into the Russian army every year must go back to the Pale after completing several years' service, and are even forbidden to spend their leave outside its borders—a prohibition that makes most of them forgo their furlough. The law which permitted the merchants to "take with them" Jewish clerks was capriciously interpreted later to mean that no merchant had a right to employ clerks who had not actually accompanied him on his removal from the Pale to the interior provinces, and thus hundreds of Jewish clerks appointed later were torn from their positions and banished back to the Pale, whilst the merchants were allowed only one or two clerks—an absurdly small number in relation to their business. The members of the academic category were also subjected to various disqualifications. Graduates who had obtained their degree abroad were not allowed to live outside the Pale, whilst students at a Russian university were only permitted to live in their own university town. Female private teachers, not being specifically mentioned in the law, are refused the universal right of residence, and surgeons, dentists, and midwives, who do not actually exercise their profession—whether because of infirmity or because they have found a better opening—must return to the Pale. Artisans are subjected to even harsher regulations. Not only must they furnish themselves with certificates of proficiency in their craft, which are dear and difficult to get, but they are placed under supervision to ensure that they practise their trade, they are allowed to live in the interior provinces only so long as they exercise their trade, they must not sell any articles not directly connected with their handicraft nor

sell their own products outside their town, and they must not give a night's shelter to any non-privileged person—even a near relative. If they wish to exchange their trade they must go back to the Pale to qualify over again, a process that means heavy expense, long delay, and a ruinous holiday; when they become old and infirm and can no longer work they lose their right of residence; and if an artisan dies at his work and his wife is unable to carry on his trade, she and her children are driven back to the Pale. Moreover, many trades have been struck off the privileged list during the last thirty years, such as tobacco-workers, fish-curers, stonemasons, carpenters, butchers, etc., and even the privileged artisan is now denied access to vast regions of the Empire—the Don Territory, Yalta, the government of Moscow, Siberia, and part of the Caucasus. How grudgingly the Government allows even these few privileged classes to live outside the Pale is seen in the inhuman provision which permits children to remain with their parents only until they come of age and then compels them either to qualify independently or else to wander back alone to the Pale. Similarly, a married daughter whose husband has no right to live outside the Pale forfeits the right to visit her parents in the interior provinces. Still worse, the children of a certificated midwife are not allowed to live with their mother beyond the Pale unless their father also possesses the privilege independently. The Russian Government has the same fear of infants as the Pharaoh “who knew not Joseph.” It is also, as has already been observed, very severe towards women, who find it more difficult than men to acquire an independent privilege of residence. To only one class of women is the entire Russian Empire open—the prostitute: an exception that throws a lurid light upon the moral calibre of the Russian legislator. And should a Jewess take the prostitute’s “yellow ticket”—happily a rare phenomenon—with the object of pursuing her studies or teaching outside the Pale, she is reprimanded for not following her “certified profession” and is sent back home for “transgressing the law.” The restric-

tions of residence are also extended to foreign Jews. Any foreign Jew who is the representative of a recognized commercial firm may obtain permission through a Russian consulate to dwell in Russia three months ; but all other foreign Jews who wish to visit Russia, whether for private reasons or in order to attend a scientific congress, must procure the special authorization of the Minister of the Interior, which is in most cases refused or granted only under humiliating conditions.¹

The measures adopted by the Government and the local authorities to enforce all these restrictions are marked by wanton brutality. Orders are periodically sent from St. Petersburg or from some provincial centre to investigate the residential rights of Jews in particular towns, and they are carried out by the local police with a zeal that knows no shame. The police seize Jews in the streets, force their way into their homes, and, worst of all, make midnight raids, dragging men and women, old and young, out of their beds to see whether they are committing the crime of living outside the Pale without the legal permit. Woe betide those who are found guilty, for they are generally marched like convicts through the streets in the early morning, denied any opportunity of winding up their affairs, and forced back to the Pale.² Thus were 5000 Jews expelled from Kieff in 1910, and thus were hundreds of families expelled from their homes in Siberia in all the severity of mid-winter (1909-10). Even the sick are not spared, and the ailing Jews and Jewesses who are discovered at Yalta, or Piatigorsk, or at any other of the protected health-resorts, are summarily expelled with the risk of endangering their lives. Thousands of Jews are

¹ In 1911, Mr. Oscar Straus, then United States Ambassador in Constantinople, wished to visit Russia, but as the requisite document was worded in an unusual manner he abandoned the projected journey. Furthermore, a British officer, ordered by his War Office to the Far East, was refused permission to travel by the Siberian Railway because he was a Jew (*Legal Sufferings of the Jews in Russia*, p. 73). In November 1913, Dr. Georg Brandes was also refused permission to visit Russia for a lecturing engagement.

² The technical term for such "drives" is *oblava*.

thus irretrievably ruined in health and in business year after year ; and those who remain in the interior provinces are enveloped in an atmosphere of dread and try to buy repose and protection by bribing the police. It has been estimated that from two to two and a half million pounds sterling are levied every year by the police from the Jews for their "protection," a sufficiently valuable reason why the Russian bureaucracy is opposed to the emancipation of the Jews.

✓ Another fertile source of oppression is the restriction of opportunity in regard to education. Since 1886 the admission of the Jews to secondary schools and universities has been limited to 10 per cent of the register within the Pale and 5 per cent without it, except in St. Petersburg and Moscow, where the limit is fixed at 3 per cent. Jewish pupils are admitted to commercial schools only in a ratio equal to that of the Jewish merchants paying the Guild taxes, by means of which the schools are maintained; whilst they are wholly excluded from important technical institutions. Under Nicholas I and Alexander II the Russian Government urged the Jews to attend the State schools, as they were then largely opposed to secular learning; now that Jews show an avidity for modern education the
 ↓ Government tries to paralyze their aspirations, and even forbids the teaching of Russian in private Hebrew schools. Beyond the Pale there are comparatively few to make use of the 5 per cent rule, and within it the eagerness to be included within the limited 10 per cent compels youths to cram desperately for the qualifying examination and makes their parents resort to the bribery of headmasters and teachers. Failure is often followed by tragedy.¹ Jewish parents are even known to pay for the education of additional Christian pupils so as to create extra places for

¹ "In Wilna the son of the advocate Schmerling has committed suicide by throwing himself out of the window of the third story because, after waiting for two years, he was refused admission to the University, by reason of the percentage norm" (*Hilfsverein Report*, 1911, p. 123). Since last February, by an order of M. Kasso, the Minister of Instruction, the admission of Jews to Universities must be decided by lots, a cunning device for depriving them of all incentive.

their own children. The widespread difficulty of getting into the universities, however, forces hundreds of students—men and women—every year to migrate to universities abroad, where through lack of means, ignorance of the vernacular, and inability to earn anything in their leisure, they are often reduced to penury. Over 4000 Russian students are now at foreign universities, and the great majority, who are in Germany, have been afflicted with a further hardship, as several German universities have also adopted the principle of limiting the attendance of Russian Jewish students. This anti-Jewish movement has also spread to some universities in Austria and Switzerland. Even after graduating abroad the Jew must submit to another examination on his return to Russia, in order to obtain recognition of his diploma.

The policy of suppressing the Jews as an intellectual and economic factor is rigorously applied in their exclusion from State and municipal service, in their limitation in the liberal professions, and the restriction of their right to own property. The few isolated cases of Jews in Government service are due to special and fortuitous circumstances; for the great bulk of university-trained Jews there can be no appointment without baptism. They are not employed in the police service except as spies and informers: thus are their talents prostituted to the ends of a despotic bureaucracy, which then has a plausible pretext to abuse them. They are excluded from the bench, from appointments in schools and universities, and from the railway and post office departments. Since 1881 they have been limited to 5 per cent of the army surgeons, but upon the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War hundreds of Jewish surgeons were torn away from their civil practice, sent off to the most dangerous positions in the theatre of war, and curtly dismissed after the conclusion of peace. Jews can neither elect councillors of the municipality nor be elected to such positions, but the governors in the Pale may "at their pleasure" appoint several Jewish representatives, not exceeding a tenth of the corporation—a humiliating concession that is spurned by self-respecting Jews.

They are also excluded from the *Zemstvos* (rural assemblies), limited to one-third of the members of stock exchanges and produce exchanges, and altogether forbidden to act as brokers in certain corn exchanges where the trade is mainly in Jewish hands. Shut out from the civil service, Jews of academic education find scanty openings even in the legal and teaching professions. They cannot be called to the bar or qualify as solicitors without the special permission of the Minister of Justice, which is very rarely given; and they are even forbidden to give private instruction in non-Jewish families. Moreover, since 1882, Jews are prohibited to buy or rent land beyond the precincts of a town, a prohibition that has utterly crippled the attempts to create a Jewish peasantry. Even in the Jewish agricultural colonies founded by the Government itself, where large tracts are of poor quality, they are not allowed to buy or lease additional land, and although many colonies are thus faced by gradual ruin the anti-Semitic press taunts the Jews with an aversion for agriculture.

Deprived of all elementary rights and placed under constant surveillance like convicts on parole, the hapless Jews must help in the defence of their cruel fatherland ever in greater measure than the Christians. According to the census of 1897 they furnished 20.6 per cent more soldiers to the Russian army than their quota, and in 1902-03 they furnished from 35 to 37 per cent more. According to their ratio to the total population they should provide not more than 13,500 conscripts annually, but in recent years they have been made to supply from 17,000 to 18,000 every year. This disproportion is due to the fact that the Russian authorities deliberately ignore the immense Jewish emigration, which even in years of calm amounts to 50,000, and likewise fail to take into account the incomplete registration of Jewish deaths. For every Jew who fails to report himself for military service the Government exacts from his family a fine of 300 roubles (£30). The desired conscript may have died or emigrated or deserted the Jewish fold: it is all one—the fine must be paid. Thousands of Jewish families have been reduced

to beggary by this barbarous extortion, but the Russian Government, which has already benefited to the extent of £5,000,000 by this mediæval system of spoliation, knows neither justice nor pity.¹ And yet, although the Jews are so much sought after as soldiers, they are treated in the army with every mark of degradation. They are excluded from the military schools, from all commissions, and even from the rank of sergeant-major; they are shut out from the guards and the navy, from the frontier and quarantine service; they may not form more than a third of the musicians in a military band, and they are forbidden to conduct it. But when war breaks out they must supply a relatively larger contingent for the troops than any other nationality, and the regiments with the biggest proportion of Jewish soldiers are sent to the most dangerous positions. In the Crimean War the Christian population in the western provinces of Russia supplied 19 soldiers per 1000, and in the eastern provinces 9 per 1000, while the Jews had to furnish 30 per 1000.² In the Russo-Japanese War there were 40,000 Jewish soldiers, many of whom, on their return, found their homes a prey to the pogrom fiends.

The foregoing account of the disabilities of the Jews in Russia represents but a tithe of their sufferings. The

¹ The following typical episode is related in the *Vossische Zeitung* of 30th March 1913: "In the year 1908 the eleven-year-old son of a Jew named Manela, who removed from Kielce to Lodz, was summoned by the Military Commission to join the army. The little recruit naturally did not respond. Some time after, the father, to his great surprise, was sentenced to a fine of 300 roubles. As the matter had become serious Manela went with his son to Kielce and convinced the Military Commission by ocular evidence that the boy was really only eleven years old. But the Military Commission had no power to absolve him of the fine and advised him to appeal to the District Court, a step which he was unable to take owing to the expense. Thereupon his furniture was seized and sold by auction, and as this did not yield sufficient money the new furniture that he obtained was overtaken by a similar fate. Manela then appealed to the Governor and also to the late Prime Minister, M. Stolypin, but without avail. Ultimately he appealed to the District Court, but three years have now passed and he is still awaiting the Court's decision. In the meantime his son has reached his sixteenth year, but cannot get a passport as he is officially a deserter!"

² *Legal Sufferings of the Jews in Russia*, p. 6.

oppressive laws have been narrated here with some attempt at sequence and consistency, but as they have been issued at different periods and by different authorities, and as they are frequently marked by an ambiguity of phrasing, they are often erroneously and illegally applied and thus inflict hardship even upon those who, according to Russia's mediæval code of justice, should be immune from annoyance. For the enforcement of the laws rests with the provincial Governors, desirous of securing promotion by evincing an excess of zeal, and with the local police, who are by no means punctilious about either the technicalities of the law or considerations of humanity. Repeated appeals are consequently made to the Central Government in St. Petersburg, but the decisions, which are delayed for months and even years, are seldom in favour of the Jews. Since 1881 over 3000 interpretations of the anti-Jewish laws have been issued by the Ruling Senate, and every year adds to their number. It was in 1881 that the present era of barbarous legislation started upon its destructive course, the climax of which it would be difficult to predict, for every week, nay every day, brings some fresh story of Jewish wrong.¹ There have, indeed, been Russian statesmen who have favoured the removal of the heavy yoke, but their mere espousal of the Jewish cause has sufficed to render them impotent for good. In 1882 Count Pahlen's Commission reported in favour of the gradual and complete emancipation of the Jews, but the same year witnessed a tightening of their bonds. In October 1905, M. Witte recommended "the necessity of equalizing the civil rights of all Russian subjects without distinction of nationality or faith," and in the same month broke out that epidemic of pogroms which raged with brief intervals all over the country for nearly a year. Even a circular issued by M. Stolypin in 1907 to legalize the residence of non-privileged Jews already settled outside the Pale, provided they were not politically objectionable, was twisted into a weapon of attack against those Jews who were actually in possession of the domiciliary privilege,

¹ See Note on p. 326.

on the ground that they were inimical to the social order. On this trumped-up charge thousands have been banished, even infants and greybeards, from a host of towns in all parts of the Empire. But more horrifying than all these expulsions and barbarous decrees are the pogroms that have made Russia an inferno for the Jews, plunging them into a veritable saturnalia of robbery, rape, murder, desecration of synagogues, and wholesale demolition of property, in which bloodthirsty hooligans are instigated by the civil authorities and aided by the military and police.¹ These pogroms first became a familiar feature in the years 1881-83, when 224 broke out in South Russia and Poland, despoiling 70,000 poor Jews of their belongings, and inflicting a loss of nearly 11 million roubles (about £1,100,000). Further massacres took place in 1891, 1892, and 1903, but the most devastating of all were the pogroms of October 1905, when as many as 725 places were the scenes of riot, rape, and bloodshed, whereby over 200,000 Jews suffered a direct loss of nearly 63 million roubles (£6,300,000), whilst in the riots extending from October 1905 to September 1906, over 1000 Jews were killed and 7000-8000 were wounded, the total material loss amounting to 66 million roubles (£6,600,000) apart from the incalculable economic damage of an indirect nature. And in addition to this long succession of misfortunes the Jews have constantly to suffer from an unfair administration of justice, to see their assailants acquitted by biased judges, and to be put upon trial themselves on some trumped-up or legendary charge, such as the harbouring of a non-privileged relative in a house outside the Pale, the collecting of money for Jewish colonization in Palestine, or the alleged murder of

¹ A considerable literature has grown up about the Russian pogroms. The standard work is *Die Judenpogrome in Russland* (Jüdischer Verlag, Berlin, 1910, 2 vols.), comprising nearly 1000 pages of painful and often gruesome reading, which demands very strong nerves. See also *The Russian Government and the Massacres*, by E. Sémenoff (John Murray, 1907), which proves the complicity of the Government; *Russia at the Bar of the American People*, edited by Isidore Singer (Funk & Wagnalls, 1904), and *Within the Pale*, by Michael Davitt (Hurst & Blackett, 1903), the last two dealing mainly with the Kishineff massacres of 1903.

may this sense be
 a Christian child for the use of his blood in the Passover ritual. Unfounded as this "ritual murder" charge has always been, it has become one of the deadliest weapons in the arsenal of the Russian Anti-Semitism, and is produced almost without fail on the eve of every Passover to do its mischievous work. The most recent occasion on which this calumny was advanced, was on the murder of the boy Andrew Yuschinsky, in Kieff, on 12th March 1911, when an innocent Jew, Mendel Beilis, was made its victim; and although the most eminent men—statesmen and theologians, politicians and professors, scientists and authors—in England, France, Germany, and even Russia itself,¹ repudiated the charge as a malicious and superstitious libel, the Russian Government made desperate efforts to prove it, and kept Beilis in prison for two and a half years, though it was compelled to release him at last upon his being found innocent after a trial lasting a month. What wonder, therefore, if the radical solution of the Russo-Jewish question propounded by that unholy Procurator of the Holy Synod, Pobiedonostzev, whom Mommson called "a resurrected Torquemada," is apparently being realized? The solution of that arch-enemy of Israel was that one-third of the Jews should be forced to emigrate, one-third should be absorbed into the bosom of the Church, and the remaining third should perish of hunger. During the last thirty years two million Jews have emigrated; thousands, especially among the educated circles, have baptized themselves; and pauperism has spread to such an alarming degree that from one-fifth to one-third of the Jews in different towns are now dependent upon charity. The great majority of those who remain in Russian captivity are unable to raise the fare to a land of refuge, and they face the future in a spirit of stoicism steeled by the untold calamities of the past. The future

¹ The Blood Accusation has been refuted by many Christian scholars, notably Prof. H. L. Strack. It has also been condemned as baseless in several Papal Bulls. The Encyclical issued by Innocent IV (1247) and the Report drawn up in 1758 by Cardinal Ganganelli (later Clement XIV) are authenticated by Cardinal Merry del Val, Papal Secretary of State, in a letter, dated 18th October 1913, to Lord Rothschild.



WEARY WANDERERS
FROM THE PAINTING BY LEOPOLD FILICHOWSKI

is overhung with the blackest clouds, for all the reactionary forces in the various forms of Nationalism, Clericalism, "Real Russianism," and Pan-Slavism, apart from the old-established bureaucratic despotism, are in the ascendant; and in addition to all their official persecutors the Jews in Poland are now subjected to a systematic economic boycott—the irony of it all!—by oppressed Poles, which is calculated to crush out of them any remaining spark of vitality.

✓ The plight of the quarter of a million Jews in Rumania is in several respects even worse than that of their brethren in Russia, and affords a striking example of the duplicity of a modern State. Settled in the country for more than fifteen hundred years—long before the advent of the Roman convicts who were introduced by Trajan to populate the fertile land of the Dacians—the Jews are treated as outlaws and subjected to a mass of harassing and humiliating restrictions despite the solemn Treaty obligation entered into by Rumania in 1878. The Berlin Treaty, by Article 44, made it a prime condition of the independence of Rumania that difference of religious belief should not preclude anyone from the enjoyment of civil and political rights, admission to public offices and honours, or the exercise of various professions and industries. In other words, the signatory Powers demanded the complete civil and political emancipation of the Jews in Rumania. Their action was due to the merciless persecution of the Jews which had become a European scandal. The Jews were treated as aliens incapable of naturalization, they were denied all freedom of economic activity, and they were driven from the villages into the towns where they were exposed to riots and massacres, where their homes were plundered, and their synagogues polluted and demolished. The Powers therefore wished to secure respect for the elements of humanity in return for the sovereign independence which Rumania sought. The Treaty of Berlin also required the bestowal of civil and political equality upon the Jews in Bulgaria, Servia, and Turkey, an act which these countries readily conceded. But the Rumanian Govern-

ment protested that the immediate emancipation of its Jewish subjects would be a peril to the State and proposed an alternative to Article 44. This alternative had such apparent resemblance to the original Article that the Powers in their innocence accepted it, for it declared explicitly : "Difference in religious beliefs and confessions does not constitute in Rumania an obstacle to the obtainment of civil and political rights, nor to the exercise of these rights," and it was followed by the reassuring stipulation : "A foreigner, without distinction of religion, and whether a subject or not of a foreign Government, can become naturalized under the following conditions." The principal conditions were that the foreigner should address to the Government an application for naturalization and reside for the next ten years in the country, to prove he was of service to it, and that naturalization could only be granted by law—that is, by Act of Parliament—and individually. As the principle of civil and religious equality was practically retained in this revised article, the Powers, after the dispersal of the Berlin Congress, agreed to accept it in lieu of Article 44, on condition that it was made part of the Constitution. To this Rumania, with a pretence of magnanimity, submitted, and Lord Salisbury expressed the hope that it would bring matters "into exact conformity with the spirit of the Treaty of Berlin." Little did the Powers dream that their confidence would be shamefully abused and that Rumania would cunningly extricate itself from its solemn contract.

To prove that it did not violate the principle of religious equality and at the same time to keep its Jewish subjects in bondage the Rumanian Government brazenly declared all the Jews in the country to be foreigners, whose status could only be improved by the laws pertaining to the naturalization of foreigners. In vain was it pointed out that the Jews had been settled in the country uninterruptedly for more than fifteen centuries and had shed their blood in its defence. The Government insisted upon regarding its native Jewish subjects as aliens, though they were under the protection of no other State, and more than one states-

man boasted of the trick that had been played upon the diplomatists of Europe. A pretence was made of emancipating the Jews by naturalizing in a body the 883 Jewish soldiers who had fought in the war against Turkey, but most of them had not survived to enjoy the honour. After this impressive display of generosity the Government, in 1880, naturalized another fifty-seven native Jews, but since then a steadily diminishing number has been admitted to the rights of citizenship, the total within the last thirty-five years hardly exceeding 200. Every year the Government submits the names of a list of Jews to each Chamber, but takes care that only a small proportion shall be passed by both Chambers, whose joint ratification is necessary for complete naturalization. But the Jews are not even treated as ordinary foreigners, who can invoke the protection of their home Government. They are legally described as "persons under Rumanian protection," but this protection has manifested itself in a series of oppressive laws, mostly enacted during the last thirty years, which are designed to force them to emigrate or to reduce them to starvation. Virtually, therefore, they are outlaws. The only exception consists of a part of the Jews who lived in the Dobrudja before it was ceded by Turkey to Rumania after the Russo-Turkish War in compensation for Rumania's cession of Bessarabia to Russia. The Jews in the Dobrudja who, before 11th April 1878, were Ottoman subjects, were promised the rights of Rumanian citizenship by the rescript ratifying the annexation; but these rights were not granted by law until 9th April 1909, and they were confined only to those Jews who could prove by documentary evidence that they had formerly been Ottoman subjects.

✓ The native Jews in Rumania are not allowed to own land or even to till it as hired labourers. They have been expelled from the rural districts and driven into the towns where most of the avenues to an honest living are closed to them. They are excluded from the civil service and from the medical, legal, and teaching professions. They may not form more than a fourth of the workmen or staff in any factory applying for the Government benefits without which

industry in Rumania cannot flourish ; whilst Jewish factories are wholly denied such benefits. Their economic plight is aggravated by their forced idleness one-third of the year, for Jewish shops, factories, and workshops, apart from observing the Jewish Sabbaths and festivals on sixty-five days of the year, must also close on Sundays and about a dozen Church festivals. Jewish merchants who have to visit a rural district on business are placed under police supervision to prevent them from coming into contact with the villagers, who might be enlightened as to the true cause of their permanent distress—absentee landlordism and Government indifference. The road to education is also barred. Jews are excluded from the secondary schools and universities, and even those who contrive to be admitted to university examinations are usually "ploughed" by anti-Semitic professors,¹ who show a surprising leniency to Christian students. Jewish students of medicine who obtain their doctorate diplomas at foreign universities are not allowed to practise in their native country, which is notoriously short of qualified doctors. Jewish children are not admitted into the public free schools until accommodation has been found for all Christian children, and then only after the payment of exorbitant fees. And yet the Government interferes in the management of the private schools which the Jewish communities must needs establish, frequently disapproving of the appointment of Jewish teachers and foisting upon them Christian teachers. Denied all rights of citizenship, the Jews, with their reduced earning capacity, must nevertheless discharge its duties : they must pay taxes and—foreigners as they are declared to be—they must serve in the army, although they cannot rise to the rank even of a mere corporal. But more degrading than all these disabilities is the gruesome ceremonial of the oath which they are compelled to take when engaged in litigation with Christians. This *sacramentum more Judaico*, which has been in force since 1844, is marked by the fanaticism of

¹ Professors Jorga and Cuza were openly accused of this charge by the Liberal Minister of Education, M. Haret, in the Rumanian Parliament (Report of the "Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden," 1911, p. 31).

the Middle Ages to which it owes its origin and is utterly repulsive to human reason. The Jewish litigant is wrapped in a shroud, placed into a coffin, and laid out in the synagogue, where the Rabbi, in the presence of a mixed congregation of indignant Jews and scoffing officials, utters a curse threatening all manner of loathsome diseases against the living corpse and his descendants should he not speak the truth, and the corpse must repeat every word of the malediction or lose his case. This barbarous ceremonial has on several occasions been declared illegal by the Supreme Court of Justice and the Court of Cassation, but it is still enforced by local courts which condemn the Jew who refuses to submit to it. Not until an Act of Parliament abolishes it will this abominable stain be removed from Rumania's code of persecution.

The hostility of the Government has a contagious and demoralizing effect upon all classes and sections of the population—judges and bishops, politicians and professors, students and peasants. A judge in a Jassy law-court publicly stigmatized the Jews as vagabonds in a case affecting a respectable Jewish merchant of thirty years' standing; and Bishop Nifon of the Lower Danube, in a pastoral screed printed in the Bucharest press, accused them of trying to seduce the common people from their ancestral religion.¹ The peasants who are naturally well disposed towards the Jews, and of whom 75 per cent are illiterate, are impregnated with Anti-Semitism by the village teachers, who read to them choice extracts from bigoted newspapers at their evening gatherings. The peasants have frequently protested against the banishment of the Jews from the villages, but the Government is merciless, sparing neither reservists nor even the sick, who can be driven from their homes at twenty-four hours' notice. Nor does it matter whether the Government is composed of Conservatives or Liberals, for they are both agreed in this policy of oppression and in defying the Treaty to which their country owes its independence. The result of this policy, which aims at reducing the Jews

¹ See the Report of the "Hilfsverein," 1911, pp. 28, 29.

✓ to economic ruin, has been a constant migration to lands of liberty, primarily to England and America. From 1899 to 1907, according to the *Moniteur Officiel*, some 55,000 refugees left for the United States alone. The high tide in this flow of emigration was reached in 1902, when the American Secretary of State, John Hay, fearing that economic troubles might arise from the sudden influx, addressed a Note to the Powers signatory to the Treaty of Berlin, urging them to make the Rumanian Government comply with its pledge. The British Government seconded the Note, but the other Powers were restrained by political interests from enforcing the lesson of humanity they had vainly tried to administer a quarter of a century before, and Rumania was thus left unchecked in its career of persecution. The only effect of America's well-meant intervention was that the Rumanian Government stopped issuing passports to Jews so that the complaints about their invading other countries might cease, and hundreds who had already sold up their homes and eagerly looked forward to reaching a peaceful haven in a few days were doomed to remain in their cruel fatherland. All subsequent attempts to bring moral suasion to bear upon the Government, whether from within or without, have proved equally futile. The most recent occasion has been in connexion with the cession of the new Dobrudja by Bulgaria to Rumania as part of the Balkan War settlement, a territorial change that naturally aroused the fear that the free Jewish citizens of Silistria and Baltshik would be reduced to the bondage of their fellow-Jews in the rest of Rumania. The Rumanian Minister in London published an assurance in the *Jewish Chronicle*¹ that the Jews who came under Rumanian rule would enjoy the same civil and religious equality as before, but the Bill for the administration of the new Dobrudja, which has been drafted by the Rumanian Government, offers Bulgaria's former subjects only a modified sort of equality. The new citizens of Rumania will be able to acquire only a limited amount of land, and only in the

¹ 21st March 1913.

annexed territory ; and they will be deprived of Parliamentary representation, which they had enjoyed for more than thirty years under Bulgarian rule, and likewise of local self-government.¹

The Jews of the new Dobrudja, however, may consider their lot as fortunate in comparison with that of their brethren in the older part of the kingdom, for these have no prospect whatsoever of the removal of their disabilities. The 15,000 Jewish soldiers who took part in Rumania's bloodless campaign against Bulgaria were promised enfranchisement by Ministers of the late Government,² but there is no indication that this promise will ever be realized, and hence hundreds of disappointed Jewish reservists, with their families, have left the country in disgust. It had, indeed, been hoped that the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin, which ensure the equal rights of religious or national minorities, would be reaffirmed in connexion with the recognition of the territorial changes consequent upon the Balkan War. But the Powers, as announced in the House of Commons,³ are not agreed upon the question of reaffirmation, even though this was to be applied only to the newly annexed territories ; nor could one have expected them to agree, for how can Russia read Rumania a lesson in tolerance ? Thus, although the British Government has chivalrously declared that it will recognize the annexations only of the States that grant equal rights to religious or national minorities, the Powers have allowed a unique opportunity to slip for exacting from Rumania the redemption of the promise to which she owes her independence, and the bondage of the Jews in Rumania is likely to continue for years a blot upon the civilization of Europe.

¹ *The Times*, 13th May 1914.

² *Jewish Chronicle*, 1st and 8th August 1913.

³ *The Times*, 11th June 1914.

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND STATE SERVICE

The safeguarding of Jewish interests—Relations with parties in England and America—Complex conditions on the Continent—Membership of Parliaments and of Cabinets—The diplomatic and civil service—Municipal activity and civic honours—Defending the fatherland—Prominence in Socialism—Socialist tendencies in Russia—Woman suffrage

IN the lands of bondage the political activity of the Jews is confined to the struggle for equal rights; in the lands of freedom it coincides with the political activity of the country at large. An intermediate stage is occupied by the hundred thousand refugees who throw off the shackles of Russian or Rumanian serfdom every year and, settling in lands of liberty, qualify in course of time for the rights of citizenship with the aid of naturalization societies. The Jewish citizen, who has known what it is to suffer under every form of tyranny, has a high appreciation of his civic status. He exercises his rights honestly and intelligently, he eagerly participates in the municipal and political life around him, he is found represented in all the parties of his country, and his sympathy and support are given to every movement making for the extension of human liberty or the promotion of a patriotic ideal. He pursues no separatist aims except such as conform with the principles of liberty and toleration, namely, to secure the unfettered exercise of his religion and to keep open the portals of refuge for his brethren still pining in bondage. The Sunday closing of shops and workshops, the conditions of elementary education, the slaughter of animals for food, naturalization,

and the regulation of alien immigration—such are the main questions in regard to which Jews are influenced less by party considerations than by religious motives and racial solidarity. To safeguard their interests in these and kindred matters the Jews in England are represented by the Board of Deputies, which was founded in London as far back as 1760; their brethren in the United States by the American Jewish Committee, which was incorporated in New York in 1911; and those in British South Africa by a Board of Deputies founded in 1912 and situated in Johannesburg. The Jews in Austria are represented by the "Oesterreichisch-Israelitische Union," founded in Vienna in 1884, whilst their brethren in Germany have two organizations for the defence of their civil rights, the "Zentralverein Deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens," established in 1893, and the "Verband der deutschen Juden," founded in 1904, the membership of the former being made up of individuals, and that of the latter comprising congregations and societies. In addition to the matters over which the representative bodies in the English-speaking countries have to watch, the organizations in Germany are also striving to secure the realization of the complete equality granted by the Constitution by the removal of the bar against the appointment of Jews as university professors, as army officers, and as judges. The activity of all these organizations is thus restricted to the defence of the civil rights and religious interests of the Jewish community, in furtherance of which representations are made when necessary to the Government authorities, and the repulsion of attacks and accusations, but it in no wise conflicts with the interests of the country at large.

Apart from questions affecting specifically Jewish interests, Jews are found numerously represented in all the political parties and movements of the countries in which they enjoy civil equality. In England they are almost equally divided in their affections between the Conservative and the Liberal Party, although there is a traditional attachment to the latter as the main authors

of their political emancipation ; but the balance of affection is pretty faithfully reflected by the present proportion of Jewish members in the two great parties in the House of Commons, namely, eight on the Liberal and eight on the Conservative side. Similarly, both the Democratic and the Republican Parties in the United States, and the various sections of each, embrace hosts of Jews in their ranks. At election times in England as well as in America one occasionally hears of "the Jewish vote" in constituencies with a large Jewish electorate, as though this were an organized force ; but unless there is some important question affecting the Jewish community at stake, Jews vote solely according to their political convictions, even if one of the candidates is a Jew, and take an active share in the campaign of the various parties to which they belong. There is, however, no lack of endeavour on the part of Parliamentary candidates to secure the suffrages of the Jewish community, and it is no infrequent phenomenon for opposing candidates in a Jewish constituency to make the very same promises in furtherance of their prospects. Thus, both Republicans and Democrats in the United States advocated the termination of America's commercial treaty with Russia in reply to the refusal of the Russian Government to allow the free entry of American Jews into its dominions ; and both Liberals and Conservatives in England have favoured the reduction of the naturalization fee, a matter specially affecting Jewish immigrants. The passage of the Aliens Act in 1905 by the Conservative Government, which set up a barrier against the admission of Jewish refugees at a time when Russia was reeking with pogroms, naturally drove a great number of Jewish voters to support the Liberal Party in the memorable election of 1906 ; but with the lapse of time the political sympathies of the Jews again assumed their purely party tendency.

Far different are the conditions in Central and Eastern Europe, where Jews are still fighting for complete equality and are subjected to various degrees of disability. It is natural that the Jews in Germany should throw in their

lot with the Radical and Socialist parties, as only from these can they hope to obtain any support in their struggle for complete emancipation ; but another important motive is the innate Jewish desire for Constitutional government upon a representative and democratic basis, a stage of political development from which Germany is still far removed. The Jews in that country are contributing with their money, their brains, and their press towards the advance of Liberal ideas and representative government. They have supplied the Social Democratic Party with its present leaders, Hugo Haase and Eduard Bernstein, as they provided it with its intellectual creator, Karl Marx, and its founder, Ferdinand Lassalle ; and it was likewise a Jew, Professor Jacob Riesser (a kinsman of the Gabriel Riesser who distinguished himself in the fight for Jewish emancipation fifty years ago) who founded the Hansa Bund in 1909 to protect the interests of trade, commerce, and manufacture against the aggression of the agrarian class, a league that forms a powerful element on the side of liberty and equality, numbering close upon half a million members. It is natural also that the Jews in Russia, who, despite their severe oppression, have the right to elect members of the Duma and to be elected themselves, should confine their support to the "Cadets" (or Constitutional Democrats), from whom alone they can hope for any sympathy—ineffective though it be in their struggle for freedom ; but the local authorities generally contrive by intimidation and a cunning manipulation of the voters' list to prevent Jews who even form a majority of the population in a town from securing the election of the Jewish candidate or of a non-Jewish candidate of liberal views. In Austria, where the play of political life largely resolves itself into the struggle of a dozen nationalities for autonomy against the centralist tendency of the Government, and where there is neither the division into two great parties as in England and America, nor the conflict between democracy and privilege as in Germany, the liberalism of the Jews expresses itself in the support of the various nationalist parties, such as Czechs, Poles, and Rumanians, accord-

ing to their geographical incidence, whose cause they espouse with an ardour that could scarce be equalled if they were autochthonous and pure-blooded members of the nationality they adopt. This policy of identification with the local political interests of the dominant nationality, which is sedulously fostered by the bulk of the Jews in the upper and middle classes, has the effect of pitting the Jewish members of one ethnic group against their brethren in another ethnic group as though they had really nothing in common between them. But a more serious effect is that the economic and cultural interests of the Jewish masses in Galicia, who can no more be reckoned to the Polish than to the Ruthenian nationality, are made to suffer through the warring jealousies of these nationalities, and that too with the help of Jewish politicians who refuse to recognize the distinguishing characteristics and separate claims of their own people and convert them into a helpless appendage of the Polish electorate. The inconsequence of this position is seen in the fact that a Jew who leaves Galicia for Bohemia is converted there into a Czech, and if he then removes to Croatia he must identify himself with the Croats. This policy has been combated for the last fifteen years by a minority of the Jewish people in Austria, who claim recognition as a separate nationality, and who succeeded in being represented in the Reichsrat of 1906 by four Jewish deputies, who formed a Jewish "Club" on the same basis as the parliamentary "clubs" of other nationalities. The number of Jewish nationalists in the Austrian Reichsrat has since declined to one, but the problem of Jewish national politics continues to form a perplexing element in the Austrian mosaic of nationalities, and will remain acute as long as the Jewish masses of Galicia are oppressed by the Polish bureaucracy. There is no similar problem in Hungary, where Jews are content and even eager to sink their racial individuality and to Magyarize themselves beyond recognition. Nor, strangely enough, is there any parallel in that other great mosaic of nationalities, the Ottoman Empire, where, although the Jews played an active part in inaugurating the present constitutional era,

they set up no claims for the separate representation of their people in the Imperial Parliament. The leading Jewish politicians in Turkey are members of the Committee of Union and Progress, whose avowed policy from the start was the Turkification of the numerous nationalities owing homage to the Sultan ; but this fact has in nowise restrained the journalists of Western Europe from stigmatizing the policy of the Young Turks as one directed mainly in the interest of Jewry and visiting their errors and failures upon the innocent head of Israel. It is true that the Donmeh of Salonica played an important part in guiding the policy of the Committee of Union and Progress, but they are not Jews : they are Moslem sectarians descended from Jews who adopted Islam in the latter half of the seventeenth century ; and modern Jewry is no more responsible for the political actions of these Mohammedans than for the doings of the descendants of Jewish converts to Christianity in other countries.

✓ The active participation of the Jews in political life has naturally procured them a certain measure of parliamentary distinction, which in several countries far exceeds their ratio to the population. They are found as members of the legislative assemblies in every land in which they enjoy civil equality, with the exception of the few countries, such as Spain and Norway, in which their numbers are almost insignificant. ✓ They sit in the parliaments of London and Washington, of Paris and Berlin, Vienna and St. Petersburg, Brussels and Amsterdam, Rome, Constantinople, and even Sofia, and in most of the legislative assemblies of the British Colonies and the provincial Diets of Germany and Austria. They are elected for the most part by non-Jewish votes, and so scrupulously do they confine themselves to the interests of their electorates that only rarely can they be moved to raise their voices on behalf of their oppressed co-religionists and invoke the good offices of their respective Governments. J The Jewish members of the Duma naturally champion the cause of their persecuted brethren : they would be less than human if they kept silent. The Jewish members of the German Reichstag

periodically plead for the abolition of the remaining restrictions, and their co-religionists in the Austrian Reichsrat, provided they be not in close alliance with local nationalist parties, defend the interests of their harassed brethren in Galicia. In the British House of Commons and the American House of Representatives a Jewish member also occasionally raises his voice against some wrong done to his people, but such occasions are few in comparison with former times. For the most part Jewish members of parliament in Western countries show a singular timidity in championing the cause of their own kith and kin, although they can display a passionate eloquence in denouncing atrocities upon the negroes of the Congo; and it is thus left for the special Jewish organizations, which cannot gain a hearing in Parliament, to take the necessary action. But although Jewish deputies generally refrain from defending Jewish interests, non-Jewish critics raise a periodical alarm about the growth of the political influence of Jewry being a menace to the country. Individual Jews may acquire political influence, despite their being Jews: their community, however, reaps little benefit from it, and is even exposed to the envy and hostility which it arouses.

The political activity of the Jews is by no means limited to ordinary membership of the elective chambers, for they have also been elevated to the hereditary chambers in London, Vienna, and Budapest, and they sit in the senates of Washington, Rome, and Constantinople. More important still, they have sat and sit in all the leading Cabinets of Europe and America, and have filled the highest positions offered by a political career. They have provided Italy with a Prime Minister, Signor Luigi Luzzatti (1910), who previously served as Minister of Finance on six occasions, with another Minister of Finance (Leone Wollemborg, 1900-03), with a Minister of War (General Ottolenghi, 1902-03), an Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Isaac Artom, 1870-76, the friend and private secretary of Cavour), and the present president of the Council of State, Signor Malvano, who previously acted as General Secretary of the Foreign Office under several Cabinets and virtually

conducted Italy's foreign policy. They have provided France with six Ministers during the last sixty-five years : Adolphe Crémieux, Minister of Justice in 1848, and member of the Government of National Defence in 1870 ; Michel Goudchaux, Minister of Finance in 1848, and Achille Fould in the same office under Napoleon III ; Edouard Millaud, Minister of Public Works in the Cabinets of Freycinet and Goblet, in 1886-87 ; David Raynal, Minister of Public Works in 1881, and of the Interior in 1893-94 ; and Lucien Klotz, Minister of Finance in 1912, and Minister of the Interior in 1913. They have provided England with an Under-Secretary for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms, 1888-92, afterwards Lord Pirbright), and a Deputy-Speaker of the House of Commons (Sir Julian Goldsmid, 1894), whilst in Mr. Asquith's present Administration they were at one and the same time represented by the Postmaster-General (Mr. Herbert Samuel,¹ formerly Under-Secretary for Home Affairs and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster), the Attorney-General (Sir Rufus Isaacs), and the Under-Secretary for India (Mr. Edwin Montagu ²)—a record combination of Jewish statesmen in a single Government. The conferment of the Lord Chief Justiceship upon Sir Rufus Isaacs³ represents the highest distinction yet attained by an English Jew. Jews have also furnished Austria and the United States with Ministers of Commerce (Baron Simon von Winterstein in the former in 1867, and Oscar Straus in the latter in 1906-09), Holland with a Minister of Justice (M. H. Godefroy, 1860), Denmark with a Minister of Finance (Eduard Brandes, 1911), and Hungary with a Political Secretary of State at the Ministry of Justice (Dr. Badass, 1913). They have likewise provided the British Colonies with several statesmen of the highest rank : Sir Julius Vogel as Prime Minister of New Zealand (1873), V. L. Solomon as Prime Minister of South Australia (1899), Henry Emanuel Cohen as Minister of Justice in New South Wales (1883-85), Isaac Alfred Isaacs as Attorney-General of the Commonwealth of Australia,

¹ Now Pres., Local Govt. Board.

² Now Financial Sec. to Treasury.

³ Now Lord Reading.

Simeon Jacobs as Attorney-General in Cape Colony (1874-82), and Sir Nathaniel Nathan as Attorney-General in Trinidad (1898). In addition to these leading positions Jews have occupied and occupy to-day numerous subsidiary offices in the Governments mentioned above, as many as fifty being said to be in the special entourage of the Ministers of the French Government.¹ The only important country, apart from Russia, in which Jews have not attained any ministerial position is Germany,² owing to the Anti-Semitism of the Government, but the political annals of that country record the prominent part played by Eduard Lasker and Ludwig Bamberger in forming and leading the National Liberal party until Bismarck's adoption of a Protectionist policy forced them to abandon it.

The diplomatic and various branches of the civil service in many countries have also contained and contain at present conforming members of the Jewish faith. The American Commonwealth has been thrice represented by Mr. Oscar Straus as Ambassador in Constantinople (1887, 1897-1900, 1909-10), and is now represented by Mr. Henry Morgenthau in that capital, whilst Italy, which had a Jewish Minister Plenipotentiary in Denmark in 1865 (Isaac Artom), is now represented at the Court of Copenhagen by Count di Carubio. England has never had a Jewish Ambassador, but the governorship of its colonial possessions, Gold Coast, Hong-Kong, and Natal, has been held by Sir Matthew Nathan, and New South Wales has been represented both by Sir Saul Samuel and Sir Julian Salomons as Agent-General in London. Among Jews who have served on the bench are Meyer Sulzberger in the United States; Henry Cohen, Judge of the Supreme Court of New South Wales (1896-1912); Simeon Jacobs, Judge of the Supreme Court of the Cape of Good Hope

¹ *The Jew in France*, by Eugene Tavernier, in *The Nineteenth Century*, February 1913.

² Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, Germany's Colonial Secretary in 1907-10, was brought up in the Christian faith. For a similar reason Benjamin Disraeli is not included above, nor Kiamil Pasha, several times Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, who was born of Jewish parents, but was brought up from early childhood in the Mohammedan faith.

(1882); Sir Nathaniel Nathan, Senior Puisne Judge in Trinidad (1893); Isaac Alfred Isaacs, at present Justice of the High Court of Australia; whilst Mr. Arthur Cohen held until recently the distinguished office of Judge of the Cinque Ports. To attempt anything like an adequate enumeration of Jews filling important Government positions in England, America, France, Italy, and other countries, would involve the publication of a wearisome list of names.

Municipal life has also attracted a goodly portion of the activity of Jews in countries in which it is open to them, and they are frequently found in opposite camps,¹ except where, as in many Continental cities, Anti-Semitism plays a part in the affairs of the municipality. Jews have occupied the Lord Mayoralty of London on five occasions during the last sixty years, they have served as Chief Magistrates of a host of other cities in the United Kingdom (Liverpool, Belfast, Bradford, Leicester, Norwich, etc.) and the British Colonies, and they have frequently acted as Sheriffs and Lord Lieutenants of counties. There are also many Jews who sit on the magisterial bench in English countries. On the Continent the most prominent successes in municipal life have been achieved by Signor Ernesto Nathan, Mayor of Rome from 1911 to 1913, and by Dr. Franz Heltai, who was elected, in February 1913, Chief Burgomaster of Budapest, and died in office a few months later. Honours and distinctions, hereditary and otherwise, have been conferred upon Jews by the Government or monarch of their country in recognition of their services to the State or of their achievements in public life or in their various professions. The Rothschild family was the first to be ennobled in modern Europe by the Crown of Austria (1822), and many are the Jewish barons created in modern countries during the last thirty years. In England there are now 4 Jewish peers, 19 baronets, 14 knights, 12 companions of various orders, and 5 privy councillors. The heraldic arms of these Jewish lords and barons, with their quaint

¹ The London County Council (1913) contains 10 Jews—5 Progressives and 5 Moderates.

fusion of Hebrew mottoes with British designs, are a significant phenomenon in the latter-day evolution of Jewry. In France and Germany, in Holland and Italy, in Austria-Hungary and Turkey, and even in Russia the children of Israel have received many of the honours and decorations bestowed by the State for personal distinction.

The popular test of patriotism—the defence of the fatherland—has been discharged in abundant measure by the Jews in all the lands in which they have been allowed to bear arms. During the last hundred years they have fought on all the battlefields not merely of Europe but of the world; they have shed their blood in wars of liberation and wars of conquest; and their heroism has received repeated recognition in the bestowal of medals and orders. From seven to eight thousand Jews fought in both armies in the American Civil War, comprising 9 generals, 18 colonels, 8 lieutenant-colonels, 40 majors, 205 captains, 325 lieutenants, and 25 surgeons. In the Franco-German War there were a few hundred Jews on the French and 4703 on the German side, and in the Spanish-American War (1898) the Jewish contingent in the American forces comprised 32 officers and 2450 men in the army, and 27 officers and 42 men in the navy. A thousand Jewish soldiers took part in the South African War of 1900, and 40,000 in the Russo-Japanese War, whilst the heroic part they have played in the Turco-Italian¹ and the Balkan Wars are too recent to require mention here. Jewish soldiers have attained high rank, even the highest, in several armies in which promotion is open to them. In France they comprise 8 generals, 14 colonels, 21 lieutenant-colonels, 68 majors, and 107 captains;² and in Austria 6 generals—one a lieutenant field-marshal—17 colonels, 15 lieutenant-colonels, 48 majors, and 211 captains and officers of lower rank.³ Of these Jewish soldiers in Austria

¹ See the article, "Die Juden und der türkisch-italienische Krieg," by Professor E. Loevinson in *Ost und West*, June 1912.

² Article, "The Jew in France," in *Nineteenth Century*, February 1913.

³ A remarkable biographical work in two volumes, *Oesterreich-Ungarns Juden in der Armee*, by Moritz Frühling (Vienna, 1913), gives a detailed account of the careers of all Jews in the Austro-Hungarian army.

26 have received for special bravery before the enemy the Order of the Iron Crown with the war decoration, one of the highest and rarely awarded distinctions in the Austrian army. The Jews of Italy are also well represented in the officers' corps of the army, and one of them, General Ottolenghi, even once held the portfolio of the War Minister. The Jews in the British Army are comparatively fewer than their co-religionists in the armies of Continental countries where conscription prevails, but they provide a contingent equal to their ratio of the population and comprise several officers in the regular army (1 colonel, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 5 majors, 19 captains, etc.), besides a great number of commissions in the Territorial forces.

Apart from their general participation in political life ✓ Jews have also been associated in a conspicuous degree with the advancement of the Socialist movement. Karl ✓ Marx, who laid down the scientific foundations of Socialism, ✓ was of Jewish birth, but was brought up from childhood in the Christian faith: to him Judaism was a religion bound up with Capitalism. His doctrines have found a considerable measure of Jewish adhesion, beyond their native soil, only in those countries, such as Austria and Russia, in which there is a medley of parties struggling against privilege or absolutism, whereas the amount of Jewish support in countries with two main constitutional parties, as in England and America, is relatively small and unimportant. The founder of the German Social ✓ Democratic Party was the Jew Ferdinand Lassalle, and most of its leaders down to the present day have been drawn from Jewish ranks, one of the most popular having been the late Paul Singer, whose body, a few years ago, was followed to the grave through the streets of Berlin by a hundred thousand admirers. The present head of the German Socialists is also a Jew, Hugo Haase, and so is the leader of the Revisionist movement, Eduard Bernstein, whilst most of the able exponents of Revisionism are believed to have been inspired by the teaching of Professor Hermann Cohen, who for many years expounded a liberal philosophy at the Marburg University. The head

of Social Democracy in Austria is also a Jew, Dr. Victor Adler ; whilst the Revolutionary Syndicalism that has recently grown up in France is attributed by some to the influence of the philosophy of Professor Henri Bergson. There is nothing Jewish, however, among the great majority of these advocates of Socialism except the accident of birth : they have almost without exception abandoned the synagogue and declared themselves free-thinkers. Champions of a cause that knows no national distinctions, they have cut themselves adrift from their own people, and if occasionally they protest against the sufferings of Israel they do so not out of racial sympathy but from general humanitarian motives.

In all other countries Socialism has simply attracted individual Jews, but in Russia it has won the adhesion of the masses, thanks to the pressure of economic misery and legal persecution. In 1897 was founded the Bund, the popular designation of the *Allgemeiner Jüdischer Arbeiter Bund in Russland, Polen und Littauen*, which feverishly propagated Socialistic ideas by a ceaseless output of literature among the working-classes of the Pale and succeeded in enrolling 30,000 organized members by 1905. Established as a specifically Jewish organization, the Bund at first only aimed at the economic betterment of the Jewish artisan population, whose very existence had hitherto been denied by the enemies of Jewry ; but upon the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1905 the Bund expanded its programme by demanding national cultural autonomy for the Jews. The period of terror ushered in by the Revolution gave birth to several new Socialist organizations among the proletariat of the Pale, which were animated by a keener sense of the national claims of Jewry than the Bund : they all agreed that the Jewish question could only be solved in a Jewish territory, yet radically and even bitterly differed as to the process of the solution.¹ The Zionist Socialist Labour Party, designated in brief "S.S."² (who should more correctly be termed

¹ See "Der jüdische Socialismus und seine Strömungen," by Maxim Anin in the *Jüdischer Almanach*, 5670 (Jüdischer Verlag, Berlin, 1910).

² Used, for the sake of alliteration, instead of "Z.S."

Socialist Territorialists), declared that the progressive development of Jewry in the diaspora was impossible, and demanded autonomy in a territory anywhere; the Jewish Socialist Labour Party, styled "Sarp" (Sozialistische Arbeiter Partei) or "Seimisten" (Russ., "Seim" = Diet), demanded national autonomy in the Pale; whilst the "Poalei Zion" (Heb., Workers of Zion), a branch of the Zionist Organization, were content to aim at the realization of a Socialist régime in Palestine. All these Communist groups, stubbornly affirming that their particular specific for the salvation of Jewry was an unconditional historic necessity, conducted a wordy warfare over theories with one another in the days when the pogrom-demons swept through the Pale, but joined hands in armed self-defence when their own lives were threatened and played a valiant though fruitless part in the revolutionary struggle.¹ The succeeding years, while finding each of these parties far from its goal, have softened the differences that once separated them and united them in a common effort to secure the recognition of a Jewish national section in the International, in face of the opposition of those fellow-Jews who have merged their identity into some other national contingent of Social Democrats—French, German, Belgian, Czech, and so forth.

The most modern of political movements, the cause of Woman Suffrage, has also been espoused in its various phases, pacific and militant, by a section of Jewry, and has withdrawn many a mother in Israel from the seclusion of her home into the storm and strife of public meetings. Mr. Israel Zangwill has actively identified himself with the movement in England, where also a special Jewish league, with the benison of ministers, has been formed for its furtherance. The movement in Germany, which pursues a far more placid course than in England, is supported by the "Jüdischer Frauenbund," an organization primarily established for social and philanthropic work, but now also devoted to the cause of the emancipation of woman.

¹ A graphic sketch of this turbulent period of recent history will be found in Zangwill's *Ghetto Comedies*, under the title "Samooborona."

BOOK IV

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT

INTRODUCTION

Participation in all branches of economic activity—Poverty and migration

THE Jews, who, in ancient times, were mainly occupied in agriculture, and in the Middle Ages in trade, are now represented in every sphere of economic activity. In most countries they still show a predilection for various forms of commerce, owing partly to historic and social influences, but they have devoted themselves in increasing numbers during the last fifty years to all branches of industry, to manufactures and handicrafts as well as mining, whilst their preponderance in the business world, in which they have manifested special aptitudes, is tending to diminish. Equally significant of the transition from mediæval conditions is the return to the land, from which Jews had been excluded for the most part since their dispersion. Despite their urbanization for so many centuries they have, during the last thirty years, successfully engaged in farming and forestry in various regions, notably in their ancestral country. But the most characteristic feature of the economic activity of modern Jewry is the growing number of those engaged in the liberal professions and public service.

The material position of the great majority of Jewry defies description. Only a small portion of those settled in Western countries enjoy the wealth that is commonly attributed to the entire race; but in the regions containing

more than two-thirds of the world's Jewry, Eastern Europe, Western Asia, and Northern Africa, there is a depressing spectacle of widespread poverty and misery. Goaded by oppression and economic distress the Jews of Eastern Europe are fleeing in hundreds of thousands to the lands of the West, especially America and England, bringing with them the industries in which they were engaged at home. They migrate not singly but in families, almost in communities, braving the countless hardships of the voyage to the once-vaunted lands of liberty, whose portals they now find guarded by inquisitorial janitors. But, despite their hardships and the culminating risk of rejection, they will continue to flock to these countries as long as they can find no peace nor make a living in their native land.

CHAPTER I

SPHERES OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

Historic and religious factors—Pioneers of commerce—Commercial activity in various lands—Activity in finance—Participation in industries—Factories and handicrafts in Russia—Female and child labour—Industrial conditions in England and America—Agricultural activity in Russia and in Central Europe—Advance of agriculture in America—Colonization in Palestine—The liberal professions and public service

DISPERSED throughout all the lands of the earth the Jews are found among the followers of nearly every occupation, but they show a particular predilection and capacity for certain branches of economic activity which can be traced to definite factors. They are represented in the largest numbers in commercial pursuits and domestic industries owing partly to historic influences and partly to religious requirements. From the downfall of Judæa in the first century until the beginning of the nineteenth century the Jews, who had for centuries lived by tending their flocks and tilling their soil, were, with insignificant exceptions, strictly barred from the land, which they could neither buy, rent, nor cultivate. They were thus early forced to choose between trading and manual labour. Thanks to their dispersion in the various countries around the Mediterranean and the feeling of racial solidarity that united them they had exceptional facilities for engaging in international trade ; whilst the adoption of handicrafts was fostered by the example of the Rabbis themselves, who made it a rule of life to combine the study of the Torah with the pursuit of a secular calling.¹ The legislation of the Middle

¹ Mishna, *Pirke Aboth*, ii. ; Graetz, *History of the Jews*, vol. ii. p. 471.

Ages, which confined the Jews to special quarters, excluded them from the trade guilds, and allowed them to deal only in money and merchandise, inevitably forced the great majority into commerce, in which, aided by wits sharpened by ages of Talmudical dialectics and by the very struggle for existence itself, they developed special capacities and achieved considerable success. The influence of the religious factor in determining the choice of occupation is seen in its earliest and simplest form in the callings necessitated by the requirements of the community, namely, those of the baker, the butcher, and the dairyman, who had to provide bread, meat, and milk conforming with the strict regulations of the Jewish law, as well as those of the functionaries attached to the synagogue, the Rabbi, precentor, teacher, and beadle ; but the effect of this influence upon the masses of the population did not show itself prominently until the latter half of the nineteenth century in their preferring domestic industries to factory labour, so as to be able to observe the sanctity of the Sabbaths and festivals undisturbed. The abolition of the Ghetto and the removal of mediæval restrictions resulted in an appreciable diminution of the numbers devoted to commerce and an increase of those engaged in industries and handicrafts, whilst there was also a gradual return to agriculture both in the Old and the New World. The political emancipation of the Jews also threw open to them the liberal professions and Government service, which are attracting an increasing proportion every year, particularly in Western Europe and the United States. At the present day, therefore, it may be said that the Jews are found in all the main departments of the economic world and in most of their subsidiary branches.

The main spheres of economic activity in which Jews have been engaged is that of commerce in all its forms, whether as wholesale or retail traders, bankers or financiers, shippers of transoceanic trade or carriers of local wares, war contractors or dealers in old masters, founders of newspapers or organizers of international exhibitions. Professor Werner Sombart has recently written a portly

and learned volume,¹ in which he emphasizes and illustrates the influence of the Jews upon the economic progress of modern nations, and describes how they quickened international and colonial trade, financed Governments, and developed and perfected the commercial and financial instruments of modern economic life. He maintains that the centre of trade was transferred from the south to the north of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in consequence of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and their migration into Holland, Germany, and England, but his proofs of this contention are inadequate, and it is more likely that the Jews simply developed and profited by the commercial opportunities which they already found in these lands. It is less disputable, however, that they held the biggest portion of the Levantine trade in their hands from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century and took a prominent part in bringing the commodities of the Indies to Europe ; that they established the importance of the Leipzig fairs and were the first to exploit the trade in precious metals ; that they had a considerable share in founding the British colonial trade and in promoting the economic development of the American Commonwealth ; and that with the advance of the present capitalistic era they developed the bill exchange and stock exchange and popularized the bill of exchange, the company share, the banknote, and other negotiable instruments of modern commerce. The "industrial awakening of almost the whole interior of Cape Colony" in the early thirties of the nineteenth century was due to Benjamin Markus and Simeon Norden² ; the wool and hide trades and the mohair industry in South Africa were established by the Mosenthal brothers, and the whale and fishing industry by the De Pass brothers ; Joel Myers introduced ostrich farming, whilst the Albus, Barnatos, and Ecksteins played

¹ *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* (Duncker & Humblot, Leipzig, 1911). An English translation, somewhat abbreviated, by Dr. M. Epstein, has been published under the title of *The Jews and Modern Capitalism* (Fisher Unwin, 1913).

² *Jewish Encyclopædia*, xi. p. 476.

a prominent part in the development of the diamond and gold mines. One of the most romantic episodes in the colonization of South Africa was the creation of Nathaniel Isaacs in 1828 as Chief of Natal by Tchaka, King of the Zulus, who presented him with a great tract of the country extending 100 miles inland from the sea in return for his services in subduing a hostile tribe. In more recent times Jews have distinguished themselves by creating the department stores, particularly on the Continent and in America,¹ and by attaining a prominent position in the art-dealing world of Europe.²

The success of the Jew in business has prompted various theories as to its origin. Professor Sombart has evolved the fanciful idea that the Jew owes his commercial aptitude to the influence of his religion, which he regards as dominated by rationalism; but Dr. Ruppin and Dr. Zollschan³ are nearer the truth in declaring that the Jew has no specific business capacity, but that his general intellectual equipment finds a fertile field of activity in a vocation demanding mobility and originality of thought and promptness of action, and that it is by virtue of the same mental qualities that he has distinguished himself in politics, law, medicine, and chess-playing. The Jew is of a speculative and calculating turn of mind; he is quick to comprehend; he has enterprise, initiative, and foresight; he is a keen competitor, a hard bargainer, a capable organizer, and has known how to develop and utilize the art of advertisement: all attributes of supreme value in the commercial struggle. He is, moreover, endowed with perseverance and readiness of resource; he can adapt himself to the whims of fortune and quickly change from one line of business to another, and even from one occupation to another, in the determination to advance. He has established a secure, if not everywhere prosperous position in

¹ Wertheim and Tietz in Germany; Macy and Rosenwald in America.

² Duveen, London; Seligmann, Paris; Heilbronn, Berlin; Hirsch, Vienna, etc.

³ See Dr. Zollschan's criticism of Prof. Sombart's theories in the preface to the third edition of *Das Rassenproblem* (Wm. Braumüller, Vienna and Leipzig, 1912).

the business world, though he has a match not only in the Greeks and Armenians, who are born traders, but also in the Americans and the Scotsmen. It is inevitable that when a large section of a people is engaged in business a certain proportion, whose methods are not very scrupulous, should be regarded as characteristic of the people at large ; but to what an extent this judgment is just has been discussed in the chapter on "Morality." But although the Jew has acquired the reputation of being the personification of the commercial spirit, he is sometimes quite shiftless and helpless, failing miserably in everything he undertakes as though pursued by some mocking sprite and good-humouredly nicknamed by his brethren a *Schlemiel*.

In Germany and Italy one-half of the Jews are engaged in commerce, and in Austria and Russia over two-fifths.¹ In Germany 50·35 per cent of the Jews are engaged in commerce and transport as compared with 13·41 per cent of the general population ; but whilst they formed 10·5 per cent of the entire commercial class in 1895, they are now only 7·9 per cent. In Italy 50·35 per cent

¹ Complete occupation statistics of the Jews are available for these four countries and to a limited extent for Rumania. The figures given here are taken from the following sources, the years after the country being the date of the census :—(a) Germany (1907) : *Die beruflichen und sozialen Verhältnisse der Juden in Deutschland*, by Dr. J. Segall (Berlin : Max Schildberger, 1912) ; (b) Italy (1901) : *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, January 1905 (Berlin) ; (c) Austria (1900) : *Die Juden in Oesterreich*, by Dr. J. Thon (Berlin, 1908) ; (d) Russia (1897) : *Die sozialen Verhältnisse der Juden in Russland* (Berlin, 1906), Bulletin of the Bureau of Labour, "Economic Condition of the Jews in Russia," by I. M. Rubinow (Washington, 1907), and *Die Wanderbewegungen der Juden*, by W. W. Kaplun-Kogan (Bonn : Markus & Weber, 1913) ; (e) Rumania (1901–2 and 1904) : *Die Juden in Rumänien* (Berlin, 1908). The original sources of the statistics for Russia are the Government Census of 1897 and the Investigation conducted by the Jewish Colonization Association in 1898–99, published first in Russia (St. Petersburg, 1904) and afterwards in French under the title of *Recueil de matériaux sur la situation économique des Israélites en Russie d'après l'enquête de la Jewish Colonisation Association* (Paris, 1906). The only other country of which Jewish occupation statistics are extant is New South Wales (*Hebrew Standard*, Sydney, 10th March 1905), but as they only concern a total employed population of 3031 and were compiled in 1901 they cannot be regarded as of much significance for present-day conditions.

of the Jews are engaged in business, as compared with only 8.32 per cent of the general population. In Austria, where the percentage is 43.7 and 8.3 respectively, the Jews practically monopolize trade in Galicia, where there is a dearth of industries and the staple occupation is agriculture. They form 91.2 per cent of the dealers in merchandise in East Galicia and 81 per cent in West Galicia, 85.3 per cent of the brokers and agents in East Galicia and 66.3 per cent in West Galicia, but the great majority are merely petty shopkeepers, pedlars, and hawkers, who can hardly keep body and soul together. In Russia 42.62 per cent of the Jews are engaged in commerce and transport (38.64 per cent in commerce alone), as compared with only 2.7 per cent of the general population, but it must be remembered that Russia is predominantly an agrarian country and that the Jews, with the exceptions to be noted later, are barred from the soil. They form one-third of the entire mercantile class in the Russian Empire and as much as four-fifths in the Pale of Settlement alone. Nearly one-half of the Jewish merchants in Russia trade in agricultural produce, they constitute over 90 per cent of the grain dealers in the Empire, and practically monopolize the corn trade in the Pale and along the Black Sea; but they are also represented in many other branches of commerce, particularly clothing, textiles, and timber. The general characteristics of Jewish trade in Russia are overcrowding, excessive and unhealthy competition, and its restriction mainly to manufactured articles of inferior value and commodities intended for immediate consumption. In Rumania the Jews form a fifth of the entire commercial class, whilst the proportion rises in some departments of the country to a half and even three-fourths, the maximum being reached in Jassy and Botosani. They entirely monopolize the petroleum trade and form the bulk of the dealers in iron goods (92 per cent), cotton goods (88 per cent), flour, timber, and fur. Most of the native Jews in England and America are also engaged in commerce, those in the latter country largely controlling the trade in corn, tobacco, and cotton, whilst the East European immigrants

in these countries provide a contingent of shopkeepers, hawkers, and pedlars.

The participation of Jews in finance is relatively not so great or important at the present day as it was until the middle of the nineteenth century. The refusal of the mediæval Church to allow its followers to deal in money, as something taboo, gave the Jews a monopoly in which they were able to specialize, and they thus acquired considerable skill and success in financial operations. The outstanding episode in the history of Jewish finance, as indeed in the annals of modern finance in general, is the unparalleled rise of the firm of Rothschild, which, starting from modest foundations in Frankfort in 1760, raised loans for almost every country of importance during the next hundred years, and is estimated to have contracted for or participated in loans to the huge total of £1,300,000,000 up to 1904.¹ Among the most important transactions carried out by the Rothschilds were the transmission of £18,000,000 sterling to the Continent between 1814 and 1822 for payment to the anti-Napoleonic Allies, the raising of a loan of £15,000,000 for the English Government in 1856, the arrangement with Bleichroeder for the payment to Germany of the French indemnity of five million francs after the Franco-Prussian War, and the advance of £4,080,000 to the English Government in 1875 for the purchase of 176,600 Suez Canal shares.² One of the most important factors that contributed to the success of the Rothschild house was its establishment of branches in London, Paris, Vienna, and Naples, each headed by a brother, which enabled it to undertake operations of an international character; but the branch at Naples was discontinued in 1861, and the ancestral house at Frankfort was closed forty years later. The Rothschild firm, however, was not the only Jewish house that undertook State and municipal loans in the early half of the nineteenth century: it had many serious competitors in the Pereires, Lazards, Speyers, Sterns, Seligmanns, and Bischoffsheims, who also adopted

¹ *Financial Times*, 13th February 1913.

² *Jewish Encyclopædia*, x., art. "Rothschild."

the Rothschild system of establishing local branches in European capitals, each under the charge of a brother. But the movement that spread throughout Western Europe in the fifties of last century for the formation of credit banks and the growing practice of Governments to throw open the subscription of loans to the general public combined to break down the Jewish monopoly of international finance, which may be said to have largely passed away by 1900.¹ Jewish financiers invested considerably in the construction of railways in the latter half of the nineteenth century, notably the Pereires in North France, the Bischoffsheims in Belgium, the Bleichroeders in Germany, Baron de Hirsch in Turkey, and Messrs. Kuhn, Loeb, & Co. (Mr. Jacob H. Schiff) in the United States, and it was to a Jew by birth, Sir Ernest Cassel, that the financing of the Nile Dam was due. In Russia, too, the influence of Jewish finance showed itself in the establishment of commercial banks by Barons Joseph and Horace de Günzburg and Leon Rosenthal of St. Petersburg and by Baron Kronenberg and Iwan Blioch of Warsaw; whilst farther east, the Sassoons, "the Rothschilds of the East," have created a network of banks from Bagdad to Shanghai. At present the movement of precious metals throughout the world is mainly directed by Jewish bankers, who largely determine the rate of exchange between one country and another; but there is absolutely no ground for the allegation, often made by anti-Semitic scribes, that the Jewish financiers of different countries are in alliance and use their combined resources for particular operations. On the contrary, the competition between Jewish houses is just as keen as between other firms. If there is any policy at all, apart from purely business considerations, by which self-respecting Jewish financiers are guided, it is the abstention from raising loans for the Russian Government as a protest against its inhuman treatment of their brethren, a policy that must be endorsed by every friend of freedom. There is, moreover, a notable decline in the proportion of Jews engaged in finance. In Germany they formed 13·8

¹ *Jewish Encyclopædia*, v., art. "Finance."

per cent of the entire class engaged in financial pursuits in 1895, but this percentage sank to 7·9 by 1907 owing to the private banks being replaced by big joint-stock banks capable of supplying the credit needed for Germany's industrial and commercial development.¹ In Italy only 2·83 per cent, and in Russia only 1·15 per cent of the Jewish population followed a financial calling. The number of Jews on the stock exchange is not as large as is popularly supposed. In London there are estimated to be 330 Jews among 5100 members of the Stock Exchange—that is, over 6 per cent²; whilst in New York the percentage is probably nearly twice as high.

A significant tendency of modern times is the increasing number of Jews engaged in industrial pursuits, whether as manufacturers or mechanics, a tendency illustrated by the large number of Jewish schools for manual crafts founded during the last half-century not only in Europe and America but also in Palestine. In Germany 21·87 per cent of the Jews were engaged in industry in 1907, as compared with 19·30 per cent in 1895; in Austria the percentage is 26·4, and in Russia as high as 34·63, whilst in Italy it is as low as 8·68. In Germany the principal industries in which they are engaged are those of machinery, metals, building, paper, timber, and especially chemicals and textiles. In Austria the bulk of Jewish manufacturers and artisans are concentrated in Galicia, in the east of which they form from 52 to 56 per cent of those engaged in the metal, chemical, food, leather, and paper industries, and 41 per cent of the clothing industry. Particularly noteworthy is the mining colony in Boryslav, consisting of exemplars of Jewish pluck.³ In Rumania, despite the special laws aiming at the restriction of Jewish enterprise, they form 19·5 per cent of all the manufacturers, and only 5·3 per cent of the factory employees, whilst they account for 52·8 per cent of the glass, 32·4 per cent

¹ Segall, *Die beruflichen und sozialen Verhältnisse der Juden in Deutschland*, p. 33.

² Mr. Percy M. Castello, in the *Jewish Chronicle*, 17th June 1910.

³ *Die Welt*, 20th June 1913.

of the furniture, and 39·1 per cent of the clothing manufacturers.¹ One of the most remarkable features of Jewish labour, not only on the Continent but also in England and America, is the comparatively large proportion occupied in the clothing industry. Of 40,000 Jewish artisans in Germany, distributed in twenty-two different occupations, over one-third are engaged in this industry,² whilst in Rumania it claims over three-fifths. In Russia over one-seventh of the entire Jewish population is either engaged in or dependent upon the clothing industry (including hats, boots, and gloves, as well as clothes). In Rumania the proportion of Jews in manual trades is four and a half times larger than their ratio to the population, whilst in Jassy they form over three-fourths of the artisan class. They are mostly engaged either in trades demanding special skill, such as engraving and watchmaking, or in those that involve physical strain, as tailors, shoemakers, box-makers, plumbers, bookbinders, and paper-hangers.

To those who have hitherto regarded the Jews in Russia as wholly or mainly absorbed in barter it will come as a revelation to learn that nearly two-fifths are occupied in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, in which less than a sixth (15·4 per cent) of the general population is represented. Although the Jews form little more than 4 per cent of the population of Russia, they constitute 10·5 per cent of the entire industrial class in the Empire, and as much as a third in the Pale of Settlement. In the north-western provinces, Lithuania and White Russia, industrial occupations even claim a greater proportion of Jews than commerce: in Lithuania there are 44·2 per cent in industries and only 23·8 per cent in commerce, whilst in White Russia there are 42·2 and 27·4 per cent respectively.³ It is in these provinces that the congestion is greatest, the economic conditions are lowest, and the labour movement is strongest. In the Pale, according to the latest statistics, the Jews owned 37·8 per cent of

¹ *Die Juden in Rumänien*, p. 30.

² Segall, p. 44.

³ Rubinow, *Economic Conditions of the Jews in Russia*, p. 502.

the factories (2933 out of 7750), and formed 27 per cent of the employees (63,509 out of 235,203), but the value of the products manufactured in Jewish factories was only 22.5 per cent of the total value of the manufactures.¹ The reason for this is that the average Jewish manufacturer has a smaller capital than his non-Jewish competitor, his factory is a smaller establishment and seldom equipped with the best machinery, and the cost of maintenance is relatively larger, as he is by law confined to the town, whilst his non-Jewish competitor can build his factory in the country, where rent and labour are cheaper. The industries in which Jewish manufacturers are engaged present a wide variety : textiles (80 per cent of the total), timber, tobacco (75 per cent), hides, soap (87 per cent), bricks, tiles, flour-mill products, creameries, breweries, and mineral waters. In Poland there are 305 Jewish factories of textile goods, of which 155 are in Lodz, employing about 13,000 men ; and in Bialystok and its suburbs there are 299 Jewish factories out of a total of 372. The total number of Jewish factory-workers in the entire Pale is probably between 100,000 and 150,000, and the conditions of most of them are distressing. They are confined to the towns, they cannot work on the Sabbath, they have a higher standard of life than the Russian operative who has been brought up in the country and can generally fall back upon a little farm in bad times, and they have a difficulty in getting employment not only in non-Jewish works, which are often controlled by anti-Semitic managers, but also in Jewish works, as they are apt to look upon their employer as their equal and know how to protect their interests by organization.

The conditions of the artisans are scarcely better. There are over half a million, who, with their families, form a third of the Jewish population in Russia. Although permitted to live in certain parts outside the Pale, the conditions governing their residence are so burdensome and harassing that the great majority remain perforce in their native towns, where they work mostly at home in

¹ Rubinow, *Economic Conditions of the Jews in Russia*, p. 537.

insanitary conditions and for an overcrowded market. Over 38 per cent are engaged in the production of clothing and other wearing apparel, 17 per cent in leather wares (boots, gloves, etc.), 11 per cent in food products, nearly 10 per cent in furniture, 9 per cent in metals, 6 per cent in bricks and tiles, and the rest in the textile, paper, stationery, and chemical industries. Different towns have specialized in particular industries: thus several towns in the province of Siedlec are engaged in brush-making, Grodno is devoted to boots and shoes, Vitebsk to agricultural machinery, and Bresin to ready-made clothing. Unskilled labour is generally avoided by Jews: it claims only 2 per cent of the total Jewish population in Russia. In the Pale there are over 100,000 Jews employed in unskilled labour, mostly as dock-labourers (especially in South Russia), carriers, teamsters, cabmen, farm-labourers, diggers and stonebreakers, lumbermen, raftsmen, rag-pickers, and water-carriers. This at least proves that Jews, if needs be, can undertake the hardest form of physical labour. They are also found as dock-labourers at Salonica, Beyrout, and other Levantine ports. On the other hand, they are apt to look down upon employment as domestic servants or waiters as servile callings that suppress personal individuality.

One of the most striking features of Jewish industry in Russia is the large proportion of female labour. The day is long past when the Jewish woman was able to keep within the peaceful seclusion of the home: the fight for existence has driven her also into the factory and workshop. Women form 21·26 per cent of the Jewish wage-earning class in Russia, and account for 15·3 per cent of the artisans. In the north-west provinces women and girls form a third of the Jewish artisans, and over 80 per cent are employed as dressmakers, seamstresses, milliners, stocking-knitters, and cigarette-makers. Female and child labour is also largely employed in factories, ranging from 20·2 per cent in South Russia to 37·4 per cent in Poland, and 42·4 per cent in the north-west provinces; and it is found in many industries of a dangerous kind, such

as the manufacture of bricks and of matches, the packing of matches being done mostly at home. In Germany, also, it may be added, women form 21·97 per cent of the entire Jewish working population, but they are engaged more in business and professions than in factories and domestic service. The percentage of Jewesses in employment in that country rose from 21·97 in 1875 to 30 in 1907.¹

The emigrants from East Europe who have settled in such large numbers in America and England during the last thirty years have brought with them the industries in which they were engaged at home, namely, tailoring, shoemaking, cabinet-making, cigarette-making, cap-making, and furriery, though they are also represented in all other trades. It is mainly due to them that these industries have become of increasing importance in these countries: they monopolize the clothing trade in the United States and largely dominate it in England. In New York there are over 2000 firms employing about 80,000 men and women in the designing and making of clothes. The leading industry of the city and state of New York is the manufacture of women's clothing, which had a production in 1909 of 272,518,000 dollars, and 75 per cent of the development of which has taken place during the last fifteen years. All the firms and employees engaged in this industry, with insignificant exceptions, are Jews.² Almost 53 per cent of the male Russo-Jewish workers and 77 per cent of the female workers in New York are employed in tailoring, dressmaking, and cognate trades.³ In England one-third of the Russian and Polish Jews are estimated to be in this branch of industry, and to them is entirely due the introduction of the ladies' jacket and mantle trade.⁴ The centres of the tailoring trade are London, Manchester, Leeds, whilst the Manchester water-

¹ Segall, p. 78.

² *Jewish Immigration Bulletin*, November–December 1912, New York.

³ *The Immigrant Jew in America*, p. 112.

⁴ *The Jew in London*, by C. Russell and H. S. Lewis (Fisher Unwin, 1901), p. 73.

proof garments industry is also in Jewish hands. The influx of Jewish immigrants into the English labour market gave rise in recent years to the complaint that they lowered the rate of wages and took the bread out of the mouth of the native workman, but the investigations that have been made into the question have shown the charge to be groundless. When the immigrant first arrives in London he may submit to sweating conditions rather than beg or starve or sink to the depravity of the indigenous wastrels who sleep in the parks by day and in the "doss-houses" by night; but he very soon asserts his position and obtains a normal wage. Moreover, as the Jew has created his own industries there is practically no competition with the Gentile workman in the labour market, Jew and Gentile working, as Mr. Sidney Webb has put it, "in water-tight compartments." A similar charge of undercutting the rate of wages has been made in America, but the Immigration Commission, after a study of the earnings of more than half a million employees in mines and manufactures, has discovered no evidence that immigrants have been hired for less than the prevailing rate of wages. On the contrary, Dr. Hourwich has recently shown that the average wage is higher in those parts of the United States where there is a larger percentage of foreign-born workmen, that there has been a gradual reduction of the working day during the past decade in the state most affected—New York, and that the proportion of children employed in factories is greatest in the states where there is practically no immigrant population.¹ The immigrant is constantly spurred on to improve his position and to become his own master, not only because he brings his wife and children to join him at the earliest opportunity, but because he has a higher standard of life than the native workman. He must provide for the proper celebration of Sabbaths and festivals and for the Hebrew education of his children, and he subscribes to a synagogue and benefit society. The trade union movement has so far not found much hold among the Jewish

¹ I. A. Hourwich, *Immigration and Labour* (Putnam, 1913).

immigrants, partly owing to the shifting character of their class, partly owing to their irrepressible ambition to rise from the ranks of the toilers, and partly owing to their lack of the sense of disciplined organization¹; but strikes for the improvement of employment conditions are no infrequent phenomenon among the garment-makers in New York and the bakers in London.

The return of the Jews to the land during the nineteenth century affords a refutation of the oft-recurring charge that, having been cut off from the soil and urbanized for so many centuries, they cannot adapt themselves to rural pursuits. There are now about 400,000 Jewish souls living by farming and forestry in the Old and in the New World, and the number is increasing every year. The return to the land began in Russia in 1804, when Alexander I passed a law permitting the settlement and purchase of land by Jews in New and Southern Russia, and presented them with 80,000 acres in the province of Kherson as a nucleus for agricultural settlements. He also granted them exemption from military service to induce them to go upon the land, and by 1810 several Jewish colonies were established, comprising 1700 families, in Kherson. Under the reign of his successor, Nicholas I, further colonies were established by private benevolence in the provinces of Kherson and Ekaterinoslav, and their number rose to 371 in 1865, when the Government repented of its goodwill and prohibited the creation of fresh Jewish colonies. In the seventies the Government took nearly 90,000 acres away from the Jewish colonies in the provinces of Volhynia, Kieff, Podolia, and Tchernigoff, and in 1882 the famous May Laws forbade Jews to buy or rent land in rural areas in the fifteen provinces of West Russia, a prohibition that was extended to Poland in 1891. Since then the position of the Jewish farmer in Russia has become rather precarious, and it would be menaced with utter decay if it were not for the material and financial assistance rendered by the Jewish Colonization Association,

¹ *The Jewish Year Book* (1914, p. 80) enumerates only twelve Jewish trade unions in London, seven belonging to the clothing industry.

which also maintains a staff of travelling agriculturists and five agricultural schools. According to the statistics of 1898 there were 296 Jewish colonies (apart from those in Poland), comprising 305,407 acres.¹ The number of Jews in Russia independently engaged in agriculture is 40,000, so that the entire number, including dependents, who live by it is close upon 200,000. This forms only 3·81 per cent of the Jewish population of the country, whilst 60·5 per cent of the general population is devoted to agriculture. The average estate of the Jewish farmer is only 23½ acres in extent, which is quite inadequate for a comfortable existence. Only one-sixth of these rural households owns 54 acres or more, and this sixth owns 44·1 per cent of the entire land of the Jewish colonies. Like the Russian peasant the Jew plants more than two-thirds of his land with cereals and leaves the rest for grazing purposes. He uses only his own labour, his methods are mostly primitive and his implements inefficient; but fifty years of farming have had a beneficial effect in developing the frame and strengthening the muscle of the Russian Jew. In addition to the colonies there is also a great amount of independent farming by Jews, the entire area owned or rented by them in the Russian Empire being 6,422,684 acres, over two-thirds of which are in the Pale.²

In Austria the percentage of the Jewish population engaged in agriculture is 11·4, three times as high as that in Russia, compared with 54·4 among the Christian population. The entire number of Jews dependent on agriculture and forestry is 139,810, the great bulk of whom are in Galicia and the Bukovina, where 17·7 per cent of the Jewish population live by agriculture, the highest percentage in any country.³ But there is no real Jewish peasantry in Austria, as a considerable proportion of the agriculturists are merely landowners who do not themselves cultivate the soil, though a great number of Jewish farm-labourers are met with in Galicia. Moreover, since

¹ Rubinow, *Economic Conditions of the Jews in Russia*, p. 508.

² *Ibid.*, p. 517.

³ Thon, *Die Juden in Oesterreich*, p. 112.

1899, an agricultural school has been maintained at Slobodka-Lesna, near Kolomea, by the Jewish Colonization Association. The amount of Jewish agriculture in other parts of Europe is almost insignificant. In Germany, according to the census of 1907, there were 3746 Jews engaged in farming, forestry, hunting, and fishing, forming 1·30 per cent of the Jewish population, a decline from 1·41 per cent in 1895¹; and an agricultural school has been maintained at Ahlem, near Hanover, since 1893, founded by Moritz Simon with an endowment of £150,000. In Italy only ·31 per cent of the Jews are engaged in agriculture, whilst in Rumania, where they are forbidden to own land, and in Hungary, where there is no such prohibition, there are a great number of Jewish tenant-farmers who cultivate the estates of Christian landowners.

The most notable advance in Jewish agriculture during the last thirty years has taken place in America and Palestine, partly owing to the persecutions in Russia and partly to the revival of the national idea. The pogroms of 1881 caused an emigration *en masse* from Russia, and both in that and other countries the cry arose that the Jews could find the only final relief from their sufferings by resettling upon the soil of the Holy Land. The great bulk of the emigrants, however, wended their way not to the ancient but to the modern "land of promise," and unsuccessful attempts to found agricultural colonies were made in the United States and Canada in the early eighties. The real history of Jewish agriculture in the New World began in 1891, when Baron de Hirsch, moved by a fresh eruption of massacre in Russia, resolved to devote his fortune to the relief of his brethren by transplanting them to America and settling them upon the land. He founded the Jewish Colonization Association as an English company with a capital of £2,000,000, which was increased upon his death by a further £9,000,000. The Association devoted itself in the first place to the settlement of Russian Jews in the Argentine, but the unfitness of most of the emigrants for agricultural life proved a hindrance to the early success

¹ Segall, pp. 30 and 58.

of its efforts. After twenty-two years of activity it has established eight colonies in the Argentine, comprising at present only 4520 families with 24,000 souls, of whom 6626 are non-colonists—a result that, compared with the enormous sums expended on the enterprise, can hardly be regarded as satisfactory. The total area covered by the colonies is 1,250,000 acres, of which 462,873 acres are under cultivation. The colonists grow wheat, flax, barley, corn, oats, tobacco, and vegetables, and also engage in cattle-rearing and dairying. They have 139,258 head of live stock, comprising 59,415 cattle, 13,130 sheep, and 66,713 horses and other animals. But although the extent of Jewish colonization is small in relation to the money and labour devoted to it, the colonists themselves appear on the whole to have reached a sound position, as in 1910 they paid back 538,429 dollars to the Colonization Association. The Association also started colonizing in Brazil in 1904, and possesses there 240,000 acres, of which 100,000 are covered with timber, but the Jewish farming population so far numbers only 400 souls.

A more gratifying and promising picture is presented by the Jewish farmers in the United States and Canada,¹ most of whom have created their own settlements, though they have also received assistance from the "I.C.A."² and other organizations established with the funds of Baron de Hirsch. In Canada most of the Jewish farmers are Russian immigrants settled upon Government allotments; they comprise 3482 souls and own 136,334 acres. In the United States there are now about 25,000 Jewish souls living by agriculture and owning 600,000 acres distributed among all the states of the Union. The Jewish farmers in this country own real and personal property of an aggregate value of 33 million dollars and are organized in a federation which holds annual conferences. They owe their advancement in great measure to the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society of New York, which

¹ See an excellent and up-to-date account, "The Agricultural Activities of the Jews in America," by Leonard G. Robinson, in the *American Jewish Year Book* for 5673. ² Familiar abbreviation for Jew. Col. Association;

encourages farming by rational methods and issues a monthly Yiddish journal, *The Jewish Farmer*, which has a circulation of 5000 in sixteen countries.

Far more significant for the future of the Jews as a nation is the growth of the colonization movement in Palestine. In 1870 the Agricultural School at Mikveh Israel ("Hope of Israel"), near Jaffa, was founded by the "Alliance Israélite Universelle" for the training of the Jewish youth of the Orient and of Eastern Europe in agriculture; but this school was of little practical use as long as the Jews had no land of their own in Palestine. Nine years later a number of Jews of Jerusalem attempted to found a colony near the Arab village Mulabbis in the Plain of Sharon, which they called Petach Tikvah ("Gate of Hope"), but owing to the fever spread by the rain-sodden soil they had to abandon the attempt until 1882, when they returned, reinforced by well-to-do emigrants from Russia. The marshy land of Petach Tikvah was then planted with eucalyptus trees and the sanitary conditions improved, but the lack of means for the purchase of implements and other equipment necessitated aid from abroad. It was in the same year, 1882, that a "Society for the Support of Jewish Agriculturists and Artisans in Palestine," known as the Chovevei Zion ("Lovers of Zion"), was founded in Odessa, and societies with similar objects arose in Germany, Rumania, England, and other countries. The Odessa Society at once started operations, and the re-colonization of Palestine thus really dates from 1882. "Not only was the existence of the first, and so far the largest colony, Petach Tikvah, assured in this year, but the three most important and central colonies in the three different districts of Palestine, Rishon-le-Zion in Judæa, Zichron Jacob in Samaria, and Rosh Pinnah in Galilee, were founded by people who immigrated into Palestine in large numbers from Russia, Poland, and Rumania, in consequence of the Jewish persecutions in 1881-82."¹ These

¹ *Die jüdischen Kolonien Palästinas*, by Jesaias Press (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1912), p. 4—the latest reliable account of Jewish colonization in Palestine.

pioneer colonies, however, had to struggle against serious privations and might have succumbed had it not been for the munificent support of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, of Paris, who from 1883 devoted considerable funds to the purchase of land and the promotion of Jewish colonization in Palestine. The benevolence of "the Baron," as he was affectionately called, had a somewhat demoralizing effect upon the colonists, as their reliance upon his aid deprived them of a sense of responsibility and of all perseverance. Hence he found it necessary afterwards to pull his purse-strings tight, and in 1910 he transferred the administration of his colonies to the Jewish Colonization Association, since when they have been able to pay their way and to repay some of their old debts. The latest and most important factor in the development of colonization in Palestine is the Zionist Organization, which has stimulated the increase of Jewish farmers, increased the amount of land in Jewish possession, introduced modern and scientific methods of agriculture, advanced agrarian loans, and established colonies upon the co-operative system. This organization also gave the impetus to the creation of the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station at Haifa, and has in manifold directions promoted the welfare of the rural settlements. The agricultural industry in Palestine, which comprises corn, wine, oranges, olives, and tobacco, has now reached a sound and stable position and has an assured future. There are forty separate Jewish colonies in the country, which, with some unoccupied lands, cover an area of 40,344 hectares¹ or close upon 100,000 acres, 1.11 per cent of the entire area of Palestine, and support a farming population of 8500 souls. They produce annually about 50,000 hectolitres of wine and cognac, which are exported to Egypt, Turkey, Russia, Germany, England, and the United States, and they owned one-third of the six million francs of oranges exported from Jaffa in 1912. Outside Palestine the extent of Jewish agriculture in the Orient is insignificant, and is mainly confined to the agri-

¹ B. Goldberg in *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, February 1913.

cultural school of Djedeida in Tunis, founded in 1895 by the "Alliance Israélite," and the school of Or Jehuda ("Light of Judah"), near Smyrna, founded in 1899 by the "I.C.A."

The last important sphere of activity in which Jews are represented and to which they have devoted themselves in increasing numbers since their civil and political emancipation, is that comprising the liberal professions and Government service. The special circumstances that have favoured their advance in this sphere are their concentration in towns, their comfortable social position, and their thirst for higher education. It is significant that in Germany, where the Jews have attained such a high level of prosperity by means of business, most of the Jewish merchants devote their sons to the learned professions, particularly those of law and medicine; whilst in England and America, too, there is a marked tendency on the part of immigrants who have managed to secure a competence as shopkeepers or artisans, be it as grocers or butchers, tailors or shoemakers, to put their sons into these professions. The pursuit of this tendency, in the face of the knowledge that the income from a profession is more precarious than that from business or industry, belies the charge that is often made, that Jews are wholly given to money-making, and shows that ideal motives also largely enter into their choice of a career. Whilst the practice of law and medicine enjoys the most popularity, an increasing number of Jews are found in the ranks of civil service employees, teachers, journalists, artists, actors, musicians, dentists, chemists, and engineers. In Germany the percentage of Jews in Government service and the liberal professions rose from 6·14 to 6·54 in the period 1895-1907, whereas the percentage of the general population in these professions declined from 6·22 to 5·75 in the same period.¹ The prevalence of Anti-Semitism acts as a check upon the increase of Jews in Government positions and as university professors, though the waters of baptism at once remove their only blemish. It is at first sight surprising to find that the conforming Jews of Germany, who form only

¹ Segall, pp. 28-30.

1 per cent of the population, constitute 1·93 per cent of the high Government officials and 2·5 per cent of the university ordinary professors,¹ but these proportions are much below the ratio of Jews with university education to the entire educated class. More significant is the fact that Jews form 15 per cent of the lawyers, and 6 per cent of the doctors in Germany. In Russia, where there are hardly any Jews in Government positions, 6·3 per cent are in the liberal professions despite the severe restrictions for excluding them, but it is probable that a good proportion is made up out of the host of private Hebrew teachers. In Austria about 7 per cent. of the Jews are in the liberal professions, and it is noteworthy that as many as 6 per cent hold military positions. In Hungary, Jews form 17·9 per cent of the authors and scholars, 39·6 per cent of the journalists, 20 per cent of the artists (musicians, painters, etc.), and 20·1 per cent of the actors.² The most favourable conditions in this sphere are found in Italy, where 18·67 per cent of the Jews are engaged in the civil service and the liberal professions, as compared with only 6·42 per cent of the general population.³

¹ Segall, pp. 45-57.

² *Neue Jüdische Korrespondenz*, 13th January 1913.

³ *Zeitschrift für Stat. u. Demographie der Juden*, January 1905.

CHAPTER II

RICHES AND POVERTY

The legendary wealth of the Jew—Material prosperity in Western countries—The poverty of the majority of Jewry—The distress in Russia—Conditions in Eastern Europe and the Orient

THE legend of the wealth of the Jews has persisted so obstinately for centuries that there is little wonder that it is still accepted as a fact. It owes its origin to the prominent part they have played as traders in money in the past, whether as money-lenders, money-changers, or financiers ; and it has been strengthened in modern times by their predominance in commercial pursuits in Western Europe, and their occasionally high representation on the stock exchanges. Two other phenomena have contributed to the popular delusion : the fabulous millions of the Rothschilds, which are made to throw a reflected splendour upon the entire race, and the frequent occurrence of moneyed Jews in the plays and novels of nearly every European literature, particularly of English literature, whose pages from Shakespeare to Hilaire Belloc have been lavishly strewn with Jewish gold. It is probably this literary factor that is responsible for the first impression of Jewish wealth received in the Christian world, and it would be impossible to exaggerate the mischief done by the reading of *The Merchant of Venice* in elementary schools, where the plastic minds of young children are impressed with the misunderstood figure of Shylock crouching over his ducats. The impression conceived in childhood grows into an obsession or prejudice which is fostered later by every circumstance, however trivial, that seems to agree with it, and becomes with time

more and more difficult to eradicate; and its widespread currency is unquestionably one of the causes of the envy and hostility to which the Jewish people is exposed. The truth is, that there are indeed rich Jews, but they are comparatively very few in number; the Jewish people in the mass is the poorest on earth. It is high time that this myth of Jewish wealth should be exploded once for all, and that the terrible fact of Jewish poverty be thoroughly realized.

People in Western Europe or America, who are familiar with prosperous Jewish business houses in their leading cities, who are faced in the newspapers with big Jewish donations at the head of subscription lists for philanthropic causes, and who read ever and again of some handsome Jewish benefaction for a municipal or national object, may perhaps be reluctant to believe that all these phenomena are anything but tokens of bounteous prosperity. The significance of such phenomena is undeniable, but they must not be regarded as characteristic of the people as a whole: they are characteristic only of a very small minority. The overwhelming mass of Jewry has a hard fight for mere existence and is an utter stranger to the comforts of life. Jews who have been settled in Western Europe or America for at least twenty years have for the most part attained a competence, if not actual wealth, and a good proportion of those settled there even for not more than ten years have secured a comfortable livelihood; but the vast majority of the immigrants of recent years have to toil hard and long to make ends meet, and during the early period of their struggle they are partly dependent on charity. Indeed, with the exception of about two or three per cent, the recipients of charity from the communal coffers consist entirely of immigrants. The political freedom enjoyed by the Jews in Western Europe during the last fifty years has greatly favoured their economic progress, and to the same cause, operating much earlier, must be attributed their general prosperity in America. But two other factors have played an important part in their material advancement: their participation to a great extent in mercantile pursuits, and to a growing extent in professions,

and their relatively small families. Not only have they a better opportunity of getting on quickly in commerce than in domestic industries or handicrafts, but they are able to continue their activity to a more advanced age ; at sixty they are still hale enough to reap the benefit of a lifetime's experience in business or to practise their profession, whereas at that age, if employed in a trade, they would be bent and broken and have to lay down their tools. The smallness of most of the native Jewish families in the Western world places a comparatively lighter burden upon the father than in Eastern Europe, where a family with eight or ten children is quite normal ; not only has the father fewer to support but his support is needed for a shorter period. And an additional circumstance which is of no small significance when regarded in the light of conditions in Eastern Europe, is that the Jew in the West, for the most part, does not allow himself to be interrupted by the Sabbath in the pursuit of his business.

There are no statistics to illustrate the comparative wealth of the Jewish communities in Western countries, but such figures as we have show that the Jews in Germany have reached a high level of prosperity. The proportion of independent Jews without a profession in that country increased from 16·73 per cent to 19·24 per cent in the period 1895-1907.¹ Professor Sombart has compiled a list of thirty towns in Germany, several of them large and important, in which the percentage of the total income-tax revenue contributed by the Jews is considerably higher than their percentage of the local population.² Thus, in Berlin they form only 5·06 per cent of the inhabitants, but contribute 30·77 per cent of the income-tax revenue ; in Mannheim they form only 3·21 per cent of the population, but contribute 28·66 per cent of the income-tax revenue ; in Posen the figures are 4·21 and 24·02 per cent respectively, in Gleiwitz 3·20 and 23·90 per cent, in Beuthen 4·04 and 26·90 per cent, in Bromberg 2·79 and 13·73 per cent, and in Karlsruhe 1·91 and 11·67 per cent. In Breslau

¹ Segall, p. 30.

² *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, p. 219.

the Jews form only 4·3 per cent of the inhabitants, but they own 20·3 per cent of the total income of the tax-payers, and in Frankfort-on-the-Maine, where they constitute 7 per cent of the population, they possess 20·8 per cent of the total income of the tax-payers. These figures manifestly show that the Jews in the towns investigated are much more prosperous than their non-Jewish neighbours, but the Jewish population of all these towns is rather less than half of the total Jewish population in Germany, and there is no indication of similar wealth in the communities not examined. On the contrary, there are a large number of communities in Eastern Germany which have a struggle to defray their congregational requirements. The conditions in Austria are by no means as favourable as in Germany, for two-thirds of the Jews are concentrated in Galicia, which is within the poverty zone of Jewry. According to Dr. Zollschan,¹ one-third of the business men can with difficulty meet their bills on settlement-day; only a very small proportion of the Jews in Vienna can pay even the lowest synagogue-tax; and the Jewish population of Moravia declined from 44,175 to 41,158 in the period 1880-1910, corresponding to a fall from 2·05 per cent to 1·56 per cent of the general population, a sure indication of diminishing welfare. The conditions are rather better in Italy, where the percentage of Jews with independent means is 9·26, as compared with only 2·86 per cent among the Christian population.

But the vast regions containing more than two-thirds of the world's Jewry, Eastern Europe, Western Asia, and Northern Africa, present a spectacle of material distress that almost baffles description. They are industrially undeveloped regions, in which nine-tenths of the Jews just manage to eke out a wretched, poverty-stricken existence. In the swarming communities of Eastern Europe there are hundreds of thousands of Jews who scrape a mere pittance together as hawkers, pedlars, or petty shopkeepers, and whose pale, hungry-looking features tell a tale of constant gnawing care or betray the fear of an impending doom. In

¹ *Das Rassenproblem*, p. 442.

Russia and Rumania, which together count more than six million Jews, the principal cause of the widespread misery is the elaborate code of mediæval laws, growing in number and severity every year, which restrict their residence to particular localities and hinder them in the free choice and exercise of trades and professions; and the inevitable congestion in the towns produces an overcrowded labour-market and ruinous competition. In Galicia there is a similar congestion in the towns with similar economic results, whilst the permanent distress produced by the dearth of industries was accentuated a couple of years ago by the new laws which suddenly reduced the number of licences of innkeepers and pedlars and plunged thousands of Jews into ruin. But in addition to the industrial drawbacks and legal oppression in these countries, supplemented by an economic boycott in Poland, the Jews, both in Eastern Europe as well as in the lands of the Orient proper, are exposed to a recurring cycle of disasters and catastrophes which seem to operate almost with the regularity of the laws of nature. A cursory review of the events of the last ten years will suffice to show with what surreptitious and destructive forces the Jews have to fight apart from their ordinary foes. In Russia they have had to suffer from the war with Japan, from the Revolution, and from the unparalleled outbreak of pogroms. In Rumania they have been victims of the Agrarian Revolt of 1907 and of periodical outrages. In Tripoli they have had to suffer in the war between Italy and Turkey, and in all the Balkan countries in the various wars between Turkey and the Allies and between the Allies themselves, whilst the war-panic of several months' duration in Austria sufficed to bring ruin upon thousands of families in Galicia. Civil war in Morocco, Persia, and the Yemen claimed the Jews as its easiest and most numerous victims; fire, earthquake, and pestilence have desolated countless homes in Turkey; and famine has afflicted the pious believers in Palestine. With such a catalogue of misfortunes the wonder is not that the Jews cannot attain even the shadow of prosperity, but that they manage to exist at all. And despite all these fatal obstacles to material welfare, they bravely uphold the

sanctity of the Sabbath and rest two days in the week, whereon they are able to reflect longer upon the mysteries of Providence.

The nature and extent of the poverty in Russia was vividly brought home by an investigation conducted by the Jewish Colonization Association in 1898. The object of the investigation was to ascertain how many Jews received charitable aid to enable them to observe the Passover, the most costly of the religious festivals, which necessitates the purchase of unleavened bread and other special preparations. The amount of assistance usually given is small, sometimes only 75 kopecks (1s. 6d.), and seldom exceeding 3 roubles (6s.), so that only those in real need would apply for it. The investigation elicited that of 700,000 families living in more than 1200 localities, 132,855 families—almost 19 per cent—received such assistance. The group of persons represented by this number equals nearly one-fifth of the Jewish population of the Pale and comprises members of all occupations. From 1894 to 1898 the families aided increased from 85,183 to 108,922, an increase of 27·9 per cent. That such a large proportion are dependent on charity can be readily understood when we examine the rate of wages. Tailoring, as we have seen, is the principal industry, and a tailor who works an average of 14 hours per day earns only 125 to 150 roubles (£12, 10s. to £15) a year, whilst the normal family budget in a small town is estimated at 300 roubles (£30). Even in the brush-making trade, the best organized industry in the Pale, the maximum wage ranges from 5 to 8 roubles (10s. to 16s.), and the minimum from 5·25 roubles to 75 kopecks (10s. 6d. to 1s. 6d.)¹; but even this income was not constant, for the weeks of regular employment varied from 46 to 25. Throughout the Pale 6 or 8 roubles a week are considered a very fair wage, but the ordinary wage is probably nearer 5 roubles (10s.).² The cost of living for the Jew is also greater than for the Christian, as he must pay more for *kosher* meat, provide for the Hebrew education of his children, and observe the

¹ Report to International Socialist Congress, Paris, 1900.

² Rubinow, *Economic Conditions of Jews in Russia*.

Sabbaths and festivals with something better than the ordinary fare of the week. The general poverty of the masses reacts unfavourably upon the earnings of the professional classes, in which there is an over-supply of lawyers, doctors, and teachers, who make up an intellectual proletariat. Many graduate lawyers are forced to remain bank clerks at twenty shillings a week, and it is not unusual for doctors to receive fees varying from 7½d. to 10d. for a visit at a patient's house. The scantiness of the earnings of Jewish physicians is shown by their eagerness to obtain appointments in the service of the municipal or county authorities (*zemstvos*), the salary for which does not exceed £100 to £120 a year. Cases of religious conversion in Russia are more frequent among the intellectual and professional classes than among the rest of the population, not only because the ties of faith are weaker but because the prospects of material reward are greater. But despite the bad economic conditions there are comparatively few confirmed paupers in the Jewish community, that is, people who can but will not work and who live entirely by charity. If a Jew cannot succeed in one calling he promptly adopts another, and he is a veritable "quick-change artist" in the variety of his vocations. He is a pedlar, teacher, commission agent, precentor, and marriage-broker, by turns, regularly consoling himself with the thought that "God will help," and invariably ready to help his neighbour. It is in regard to existences such as these that Dr. Max Nordau coined the expression *Luftmenschen*, people whose only apparent means of subsistence is the air they breathe.

A particularly distressing picture of the Jews in Odessa was revealed by Brodowski some years ago.¹ In 1899 there were 8500 families, comprising 48,500 souls, or one-third of the Jewish population, who lived in such abject poverty that they depended upon a free grant of 120 to 160 lb. coal for the entire winter and 40 lb. of *matzos* for the eight days of Passover—for a family of eight! About another 30,000 persons were also on the verge of sinking into this category, so that over half of the Jews in Odessa lived in

¹ *Jüdische Statistik*, pp. 287-292.

dire poverty. Of 60,000 patients in the hospitals nearly 33,000 were Jews; although these formed only a third of the population. On the average 63 per cent of the dead had to be buried free, and a further 20 per cent at the lowest rates. Odessa has the largest clothing industry in Russia, but the supply of labour was greater than the demand, and tailors could earn very little. Shoemakers were reported to earn from 3s. 6d. to 7s. a week, whilst other artisans, such as joiners, plumbers, and painters, earned as much as 50s. a month and refrained from taking charity. Dealers in old clothes earned only 40s. a month, but to get together their stock they had often to borrow 10s. in the morning and return it with 6d. interest in the evening. In the cigarette factories women competed with men, who had to be content with an average wage of 20s. a month. Seamstresses earned only a penny for sewing a shirt and a halfpenny for a pair of drawers, whilst little children helped towards keeping themselves alive by sewing buttons and hooks on cards for 1½d. a day. About two-thirds of the dwellings were damp; most of the poor Jews lived in cellar hovels where a wretched lamp burned by day and night, and in many cases two or three families lived in a single room. Were it not for the charity received from their own brethren the poor Jews of Odessa, as of the rest of Russia, would be unable to exist at all; but although the Russian Government compels the Jewish communities to support their own poor out of the proceeds of a special tax (levied principally on *kosher* meat), the local authorities have the control of this revenue and allow the communities only so much as they deem sufficient for an economic budget, the balance being kept for the public treasury.

In Galicia and Rumania the conditions are little better than in Russia, but the outlook is not so dismal. Although the Jews form only 11·09 per cent of the population in Galicia they comprise 44·8 per cent of those without any fixed occupation, an index of distress that requires little commentary. But their position on the whole is not so bad as that of the general population, as in all the towns of Galicia, except Cracow, they contain a larger proportion

than the Christians of those who pay an income-tax of 100 Kronen (£4) or more.¹ But the misery in the countries of the Orient is much more appalling. In Tripoli two-thirds of the Jews live in utter penury, and even the rest have no sure means of subsistence, whilst in Algeria 68 per cent are poor and depend on charity, 30 per cent are well-to-do with a daily income of at least a franc, and only 2 per cent have independent means.² In Palestine, where in 1880 as many as 30,000 of the 35,000 Jews lived wholly or mainly upon the charity received from their brethren abroad (the *Chaluka*), the economic situation has since considerably improved, but there are now still 55,000 out of an increased population of 100,000 who are solely dependent upon this means of subsistence.³ The prospects in Palestine, as shown by the continued improvement of the last decade, are hopeful; but the same cannot be said of the near future in Eastern Europe. Dr. Ruppín, writing at the beginning of 1911, predicted that there would be an advance in the economic position of the Jews in Eastern Europe during the next few decades⁴; but the events of the three years that have since elapsed certainly give no ground for such optimism. He refers to an increasing penetration of the Jews from the Pale of Settlement to other parts of Russia, but the last few years have witnessed a contrary movement—a systematic driving of the Jews long settled outside the Pale back to its cheerless confines. Their commercial depression in 1912 was quite epidemic in character: from 15th November 1911 to 15th November 1912 there were 2003 business failures in 388 towns, involving a clear loss of 170,308,238 roubles (about £17,030,823).⁵ The recent economic legislation in Rumania and Galicia has also been the reverse of beneficial to the position of the Jews, whilst the effect of the war in the Balkans will not be effaced for many

¹ Dr. J. Thon, *Die Juden in Oesterreich*, p. 136.

² I. Zollschan, *Das Rassenproblem*, p. 459.

³ Dr. E. Auerbach, *Palaestina als Judenland*, p. 13.

⁴ *Die Juden der Gegenwart*, p. 66.

⁵ *Zeitschrift für Demographie der Juden*, 1913, p. 92.

years.¹ The only avenue of immediate relief open to the Jews in the large misery-stricken zone of the East is migration, to which all who can scrape together the necessary fare are betaking themselves in hundreds of thousands every year. But the flow of emigration does not relieve the pressure at home to any notable extent, as the diminution of producers is accompanied by a simultaneous decline of consumers, so that in the self-contained economic life of the Jews, the resultant position is pretty much the same as before.

¹ It is significant of the economic depression caused by the Balkan War that in the Jewish community of Budapest the communal taxes in the year 1912-13 produced 155,000 crowns less than had been estimated, and that in Constantinople the receipts from the tax on *kosher* meat were reduced by more than half (by 30,000-40,000 francs), necessitating the closing of the Rabbinical Seminary (*Jewish Chronicle*, 20th June 1913, p. 15). The Budapest community has been compelled to raise the communal taxes, whereupon many members of the so-called "assimilated" class have seceded (*Die Welt*, 17th July 1914).

CHAPTER III

MIGRATIONS

The vastness of Jewish migration—Extent of immigration into the United States—Character of emigration—Occupation of immigrants—Material position—Immigration into other lands—The hardships of emigration

THE vast migration of the Jews from Eastern Europe during the last thirty years is one of the most striking events not only in modern history but in the entire history of the Jews. It can compare in character with their dispersion from Palestine in the first century, and surpasses in point of numbers even their expulsion from Spain in 1492. The principal land to which they have flocked in quest of a refuge from persecution and distress is the United States of America, in which over two and a quarter million have settled since 1880. The other lands of refuge, England, Canada, Argentine, South Africa, and Australia, as well as the western countries of the European Continent, Egypt, and Palestine, have also received since that year, upon a moderate computation, half a million Jews; so that in all 2,750,000 Jews, or more than one-fifth of the entire Jewish population in the world, have permanently transplanted their homes to other lands during the last thirty years.¹ Until 1881 the volume of migration was comparatively small. In the fifty years from 1821 to 1870 only 7550 Jews from Russia entered the United States, though in the next decade the total amounted to 41,057.² But it was not until 1881, when the Jews were overwhelmed by the

¹ See Appendix on Immigration to North America.

² *Jewish Encyclopædia*, vol. viii. p. 584.

first epidemic of pogroms, burdened by oppressive laws, and faced by economic misery, that the stream of migration to the havens of liberty began to swell into full tide.

The immigration into the United States, which forms about four-fifths of the total current, is deserving of some detailed examination. From 1st July 1880 to 30th June 1912 the number of Jews of all regions who settled in this country was 2,258,146, of whom 1,357,123, or 60 per cent, came from Russia alone. The exact numbers from other countries who migrated to the United States in this period are not known, as until 1898 only the immigrants from Russia were separately recorded, whilst all the rest were simply put down as "from other countries"; but in the ten years, 1898-1908, in which Jewish immigration reached its maximum point (932,631), Russia contributed 71·47 per cent, Austria-Hungary 17·07 per cent, and Rumania 5·55 per cent, whilst 5·91 per cent came from other countries. The rise and fall of the immigration from Russia clearly reflects the conditions of the time, the years of the pogroms showing a higher figure than either the year before or after. Thus in 1880-81 there were 8193 immigrants from that country; in 1881-82, the year of riots and the notorious May Laws, the number rose to 17,497, but in the following twelve months it fell to 6907. Similarly, in 1890-91 the number was 42,145, rising to 76,417 in the following pogrom-stricken year, and falling to 35,626 in the year 1892-93. Again, in 1904-05 the number of immigrants from Russia was 92,388, rising in the next two years to the highest figures on record, 125,234 in 1905-06 and 114,932 in 1906-07, and dropping again in 1907-08 to 71,978. The total number of Jews who entered the United States in the two years 1905-07 was 302,930, which exceeds the accepted estimate of the number who were expelled from Spain over four centuries ago, namely, 300,000. The percentage of Jewish immigrants contributed by Russia to this country since 1898 has fluctuated between 60·8 and 81·4, the maximum being reached in the memorable year 1905-06. Austria-Hungary has contributed 193,587 Jews from

1898 to 1911, probably nine-tenths coming from Galicia alone. The emigration from Rumania first assumed serious dimensions in 1899, upon a tightening of the screw of anti-Jewish legislation. According to the report of the Rumanian Minister of the Interior (*Moniteur Officiel*, 13th August 1906), the number of Jews who emigrated from the country in 1899-1905 was 55,000, of which about 40,000 went to the United States; and as according to the American Immigration authorities 57,015 Jews from Rumania settled in the United States between 1898 and 1911, we may fairly assume that about 80,000 Jews in all left Rumania in that period for various parts. The percentage which the Jews have formed of the total body of immigration into "the land of the almighty dollar" has fluctuated in recent years between 8 and 16, whilst for the period 1880-1912 the annual average was 11·6 per cent. The highest proportion was 26·1 per cent in 1894-95. The ceaseless tide of immigration has naturally resulted in a rapid increase of the Jewish population. In 1848 the Jews in the United States numbered only 50,000, in 1880 there were 200,000, and in 1888 already 400,000, whilst they steadily rose to 937,800 in 1897, to 1,136,240 in 1902, to 1,777,185 in 1907, and to 2,044,762 in 1910.

The migration of the Jews has a distinctive character of its own. Among other nations it is only the young and individual male members of the family who leave their native country to seek their fortune in other climes, and they generally go forth with the intention of returning home, or at least revisiting it, after they have amassed some wealth. Among the Jews it is not young or individual or male members of the family who emigrate, but entire families, men and women, old and young, grandparents and sucklings; they leave their native soil not to seek any fortune but simply a modest living in peace and security; and they do not go forth with any intention of returning home, for they sell up their home before they leave, determined—though the resolve is not without a pang—not to retrace their steps to a land charged with bitter memories. The proportion of women and girls to men and boys among

the Jewish immigrants to America is the relation of 46 to 54 per cent, a much higher proportion than among other nationalities. Thus, for every 1000 males of the general body of immigrants there were 382 females in 1906-07, and 544 in 1907-08; whereas for every 1000 males in the Jewish group there were 852 females in 1906-07 and 837 in 1907-08. Another striking feature is that children form about one-fourth of the Jewish immigrants. The American Immigration Commissioners divide all arrivals into three classes as regards age—(a) those under fourteen years, (b) those between fourteen and forty-five years, and (c) those over forty-five. By far the greater portion of Jewish immigrants belong to the middle class, the able-bodied and wage-earning section, which varied from 65 to 73 per cent of the total group of Jewish arrivals in the period 1898-1911, though in the general body of immigrants this class generally forms 80 per cent. In this same period the proportion of the children among Jews fluctuated between 21 and 28 per cent, whilst those above forty-five years of age only formed from 4 to 7 per cent. In most cases the father of the family sets out for the new land first, and as soon as he has established a firm footing there and saved something he sends steamship tickets home for his wife and children or other relatives. In the calendar year 1912 the total of 64,738 Jewish immigrants comprised 9124 families, 6526 consisting of wives and children come to join husbands and fathers who had already "made good," as the American expression is, and the remaining 2598 being complete families.

Of the two and a quarter million Jews who have entered America during the last thirty years only a small fraction has again left the country, unlike the Italians, who, after saving up for twenty years or more, return to spend their fortune in their native land. Thus, in 1909-10 the Jews formed only 6.75 per cent of the immigrants who left America, and 7.01 per cent in 1910-11, whilst the Italians formed 24.7 per cent in the former and 40.12 per cent in the latter year. Even in 1907-08, the years of economic depression, when 387,371 non-Jewish immigrants left the

country, only 7702 Jews joined them, forming 7.44 per cent, whilst the Italians constituted 42.3 per cent. Similarly the Jews form a very small proportion of the immigrants who have already been in the country once before, the "birds of passage," as they are technically called. In 1908-09 only 4.39 per cent of the Jewish immigrants were "birds of passage," whereas the proportion was nearly five times as high, 21.19 per cent, among the general body of immigrants.

There are also distinctive characteristics attaching to the Jewish immigrants into America in respect of occupations. In the period 1889-1911, 70 per cent belonged to the liberal professions, 37.3 per cent were skilled artisans, 17.2 per cent belonged to varied occupations, whilst those without any occupation formed the apparently high proportion of 44.8 per cent. Teachers (29.6 per cent) and musicians (21.3 per cent) provide half of the group of liberal professions, among which authors, journalists, engineers, doctors, scholars, and scientists are also included. The proportion of the representatives of science, art, and literature among the emigrants from Russia is twelve times as great as their ratio to the Jewish population: thus is the people robbed of its teachers and thinkers.¹ Of the thirty nationalities that flooded into America in 1910-11 the Jews showed the highest percentage of skilled artisans, 42.9, and the lowest percentage of members of varied occupations, 14.4—a sufficient testimony to their economic worth.² It is furthermore notable that in the period 1889-1911 the Jewish contingent of American immigration provided 52.91 per cent of all the skilled artisans, whilst 19.87 per cent of that contingent consisted of men and women engaged in the various branches of the clothing industry, as tailors, seamstresses, milliners, capmakers, and furriers. The two other skilled trades largely represented are shoemaking and cabinetmaking. On the other hand, business men and shopkeepers form a very low proportion: in the period 1889-1911 they only

¹ W. W. Kaplun-Kogan, *Die Wanderbewegungen der Juden*, pp. 135-7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 133.

averaged 4·6 per cent per annum. The obvious reason for their paucity is that they have not such good prospects as artisans in a land whose language and general conditions are strange to them; they cannot take their business and goodwill with them, whereas an artisan has only to take his skill with him. The apparently large percentage of Jewish immigrants without any occupation, 44·8, is naturally due to the high proportion of children and non-employed women which they comprise, but if we eliminate these two classes the percentage of those without a vocation is found to vary only between 11·75 and 18·25 per cent in the entire period 1889-1911.¹

In one respect only does the Jewish compare unfavourably with the non-Jewish immigrant, namely, in respect of his financial position. In the entire period 1899-1911 the average amount per head brought by the Jewish immigrants to America fluctuated between 7·30 and 21·5 dollars, whilst that brought by the general body of immigrants fluctuated between 15 and 33·4 dollars. In no year was the average amount brought by a Jewish immigrant even equal to the average of the general body. This poor monetary equipment is largely due to the big proportion which children and married women form of the Jewish contingent: in the first place, the Jews spend more of their scanty fortune upon the passage of their families, and, secondly, the aggregate amount of money brought by them is divided by the entire number of immigrants—men, women, and children. In the period 1899-1911 only an average of 5 per cent of the Jewish immigrants had 50 dollars or more, whilst in 1909-10 29·4 per cent had less than 50 dollars, and 63·8 per cent had nothing at all. Even if we deduct the children from the calculation we still find that 25 to 30 per cent of the Jewish immigrants are without means.² The past year (1912), however, has shown a considerable improvement, as the total amount brought by them was 1,750,952 dollars, which is equivalent to a little over 27·04 dollars per head; and if we deducted

¹ W. W. Kaplun-Kogan, *Die Wanderbewegungen der Juden*, p. 133.

² *Ibid.*, p. 132.

the 6526 families that came to join husbands and parents the amount per head would even be 45.29 dollars.¹ But this rise signifies not so much an improvement in the general position of the Russian or Galician Jew as an increased severity of the commissioners in applying the immigration regulations. The total monetary value of the Jewish immigrants in 1912 has been estimated at seven million dollars, which includes the cost of steamship and railroad transport, money in hand, head-tax, luggage-transport, etc.—and which shows the amount of capital of which Russia deprives itself in a single year.

The influx of Jews into other countries is numerically much inferior to the immigration into the United States, but it is in every case of importance as contributing to the local population a working-class element attached for the most part to religious traditions. Second in point of favour to America is England, but the exact extent of Jewish immigration cannot be ascertained, as the official statistics do not register the religion or nationality of immigrants but only their land of origin, and a good proportion are included among them who are merely transmigrants, that is, who make a brief stay in England prior to continuing their voyage to America, South Africa, or Australia. Dr. Ruppin estimates that 190,000 Jews settled in England in 1881-1908, but this is obviously an over-estimate, as the present Jewish population is probably not more than 270,000, and as there were only 60,000 Jews in 1880,² no allowance is made for the natural increment during the last thirty years. We shall, therefore, not be far wrong in estimating the number of immigrants since 1881 at 150,000, 80 per cent of whom have come from Russia. Of the other English-speaking countries Canada has probably received 65,000, South Africa 35,000, and Australasia 3000, whilst the Argentine has probably admitted 40,000, Germany 45,000, France 60,000, Belgium 10,000, Egypt 25,000, and Palestine 40,000. Apart from all

¹ Report of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society for 1912, New York.

² *Jewish Encyclopædia*, vol. v. p. 174.

these countries smaller settlements of Russian, Rumanian, and Galician Jews have also been formed during the last quarter of a century in Holland, Scandinavia, Denmark, and Switzerland.

These ceaseless wanderings of Israel in search of a home are accompanied by countless hardships. Russia, like Egypt of old, will not let the people go—without a passport, the purchase of which involves repeated delays and a fee that is not always within the means of the would-be emigrant: hence dozens are smuggled over the frontier in the dead of night by “agents” at the risk of being shot by a sentry. The industrial troubles that prevailed in England and America at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century were all visited upon the heads of the alien immigrants, and severe restrictive laws were passed to prevent their unchecked entry, which were also adopted in various forms by the Argentine, Canada, South Africa, and Australia. Good health, the prospect of being able to earn a living, and the possession of a sum of money varying from £4 in the United States to £20 in South Africa, are the qualifications demanded of all who would pass through the guarded portals of liberty. These regulations are administered so severely, and often so capriciously, by the immigration officials that they often form an effective barrier to the persecuted Jew in search of a refuge. Many an emigrant who has been certified by Russian or German oculists as free from trachoma has been declared by the medical officers at Ellis Island to be suffering from this disease, and thus, after having sold up his belongings to buy the passage, he is turned back homeless and hopeless, perchance even parted from wife and children. During the last few years there has, indeed, been a slight diminution in the proportion of those rejected by the American authorities: in 1911 there were 787 out of 61,500, equal to 1·279 per cent, whilst in 1912 there were only 640 out of 64,738, equal to ·988 per cent. But even this last record represents over twelve persons every week doomed to recross the Atlantic in despair. The anti-alien agitation in England, so far as its economic aspect is concerned, has

largely subsided, because it has been realized that England's industrial troubles are independent of the alien immigrant ; and besides there has been a marked decline of alien immigration into this country, from 27,541 in 1907 to 18,856 in 1911, a fall of more than 33 per cent in five years. In America, however, the agitation for increasing still further the restrictions of admission continues undiminished, but it is being valiantly and vigilantly combated by the Jewish community.¹ The hardships of emigration are to a certain extent mitigated by the labours of a dozen benevolent organizations on both sides of the Atlantic, and it has been proposed to supplement these by a Jewish Emigration Bank, to prevent the loss of a big proportion of the money sent by immigrants in America to their relatives in Russia and to save emigrants from the wiles of unscrupulous shipping agents. But the peculiar tribulations of the Jewish emigrant, though they may grow less, are never likely to disappear.

¹ The Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau at Galveston, which was established in 1907 with the object of diverting the stream of Jewish immigration from the eastern to the southern and western regions of the United States, is shortly to be closed, owing mainly, according to Mr. Jacob H. Schiff (the financier of the movement, which has been directed from the European side by the Jewish Territorial Organization), to the hostility of the officials at Galveston, who excluded a higher percentage of immigrants (5) than their colleagues at the eastern ports (1·25 per cent). The "Galveston movement," however, has accomplished its purpose in opening up the path to the less congested parts of the United States (*Jewish Charities*, July 1914).

BOOK V

THE INTELLECTUAL ASPECT

INTRODUCTION

The Jewish intellect and its forms of activity—The evolution of intellectual progress

THE intellectual gifts of the Jew have been manifested in such countless and impressive forms that they have been acknowledged by friend and foe alike. Whatever be the faults with which the adversary of the Jew may reproach him he readily admits his high mental capacity, though he tries to neutralize the admission by conceding the Jew only talent and denying him genius. We shall consider later whether there is any justification for this view. For the present we merely wish to point out that the Jewish mind is the product of an age-long process of selective development, steeled and tempered by the fires of persecution, and that the forms in which it expresses itself are inevitably shaped and coloured by a complexity of historic, religious, and social influences. Even in the Bible, unanimously acknowledged as the Jew's most valuable and enduring contribution to the treasury of the world's thought, there may be traced a number of distinct mental attitudes—the legal, the spiritual, the mystic, the rational, and even the romantic. This diversity of intellectual attitude or proclivity was likewise manifested in the Middle Ages, when, side by side with Talmudical literature, science and philosophy were also cultivated, and many a Rabbi was distinguished as a physician or an astronomer. But at no period in Jewish

history was this diversity so striking and multifarious as at the present day.

Until the dawn of the social and political emancipation of the Jews at the end of the eighteenth century, their intellectual life, on the whole, was of a uniform and specifically Jewish character, for they were sundered by Ghetto walls from external influences. They were trained in traditional Hebrew lore in the schools of the Synagogue and nurtured on Jewish ideals ; with the exception of a Spinoza or a Süsskind of Trimberg, they devoted themselves mainly to the study and enrichment of their own national literature ; and even when they occupied themselves with alien subjects they still laboured in a Jewish *milieu* and retained a Jewish outlook. But with the advent of emancipation a radical change set in. This first asserted itself in the sphere of education, where the traditional lore was gradually usurped by modern knowledge, and thenspread to all other spheres of intellectual endeavour. But it was only in the lands of the West that this change was allowed free play ; in the East it was at first met with active resistance, and even later it was unable to make the same progress as in the lands of liberty owing to the social and political servitude of the local Jewries. Hence, modern Jewry is divided into two great camps in the world of culture. The Eastern camp has remained faithful to the traditions and ideals of Israel, and has also in the last hundred years produced an abundant literature of its own in Hebrew and Yiddish ; whilst the Western camp has energetically participated in all the labours and strivings of modern culture and achieved many an important triumph in different spheres. Between the two there is a gulf which Zionism is trying to bridge over by the creation of a Jewish land, in which Jews shall co-operate in all the movements of modern culture, working under the influence of their own national spirit and through the medium of their own national language.

CHAPTER I

EDUCATION

Jewish education originally religious in character and purpose—Transition to secular education in eighteenth century—Attendance at Jewish and non-Jewish schools—Abnormal percentage at Western universities—Anomalous conditions in Galicia—The *Cheder* in Russia—Legal restrictions in Russia—Education in the East—Education a stepping-stone to assimilation

THE pursuit of knowledge has always formed a cardinal ideal in Jewish life, but the conception of its nature and purpose has undergone a change in the process of time. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the sole object of study was to produce a good Jew, that is, a religious Jew, and hence the scheme of education in all the Jewries of Europe was designed to impart an intimate and comprehensive knowledge of religious lore. It consisted of systematic instruction in the Torah and the Talmud and their manifold commentaries, a course that was difficult and voluminous enough to occupy the mind of the Jew from infancy to manhood, and indeed a sage of the Talmud devised a quaint programme to cover this important period of development.¹ The work of education was conducted mostly in a private school styled a *Cheder*, which literally means "room," and which generally consisted of the sole living-room of the teacher, in which his wife, with her children about her, plied her domestic duties whilst the lessons went on the

¹ Mishnah, *Aboth*, chap. v. : "At five years the age is reached for the study of the Scripture, at ten for the study of the Mishnah, at thirteen for the fulfilment of the commandments, at fifteen for the study of the Talmud, at eighteen for marriage, at twenty for seeking a livelihood."

whole day. The number of pupils at each *Cheder* was limited by its seating capacity, which was none too large, though there were generally two or three classes, graded according to age and capacity, which attended at different hours. The curriculum comprised the reading of the Hebrew prayer book, the translation of the Bible and its cantillation according to the traditional system of accents, the study of the numerous commentaries upon the Pentateuch and the rest of the Bible, Hebrew cursive writing, the study of the religious codex, the *Shulchan Aruch* ("Table Prepared"), and finally that of the monumental thesaurus of Jewish law, doctrine, and tradition—the Talmud. The tuition was imparted through the medium of Yiddish and in anything but a methodical fashion, for the teacher (*Melammed*) rarely had any other qualification except his unfitness for other callings, relieved by unblemished piety; but every parent considered it a religious duty to send his children to the *Cheder*, and even to make a self-sacrifice for the purpose. The *Cheder* was attended, as a rule, only by boys, the importance of the education of the girls being discounted by the inferior position of their sex in the synagogue, but the children of well-to-do parents were taught at home by a private tutor. Besides the *Chedarim*, of which there were a number in every Jewish town, there was also a communal school for the education of poor and orphan children, styled a *Talmud Torah* ("Study of the Law"), which was maintained by voluntary contributions and provided the same course of instruction. The pupils of a Talmud Torah were also often supplied with free food and clothing. The ambitious student, or he who wished to adopt the career of a Rabbi, continued his studies in a Talmudical college or *Yeshiba*, and even went from one *Yeshiba* to another to gather wisdom from the famous Rabbis who presided over these institutions. The youth who excelled in Talmudical learning and failed to equip himself for a worldly vocation had no cause to fear the future, for he was sure that his accomplishments would be detected and appreciated by the well-to-do father of a marriageable daughter, who would gladly take him as his



A TALMUDICAL COLLEGE
FROM THE PAINTING BY SAMUEL HIRSZENBERG

son-in-law, keep him for the first two years after marriage, and then provide him with the means of a future livelihood. Even after assuming the burden of a family the pious Jew still continued the study of the Torah in his leisure moments, in literal fulfilment of the Biblical injunction : " This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night." ¹

The whole scheme of education throughout the Middle Ages was thus dedicated to a religious purpose. Secular knowledge was pursued only secondarily and spasmodically, and that too only by adults : the three principal subjects favoured being medicine, philosophy, and astronomy, in each of which, particularly the first, the Jews acquired a more than local renown. But about the middle of the eighteenth century, owing to the increasing intercourse of Jews with Christians, the importance of secular education, and especially of being able to speak and write the vernacular, was more and more recognized, and hence a desire arose to supplement the religious with a secular training. This tendency was actively fostered by Moses Mendelssohn, the apostle of enlightenment among the Jews, and by his various disciples, and it was considerably furthered by his German translation of the Pentateuch, which at length provided his generation, who had hitherto spoken only Yiddish, with a key to modern culture. The promoters of this secular movement were animated by mingled motives of humanism and patriotism : they wished to widen the mental horizon of their fellow-Jews by teaching them the vernacular and the most necessary branches of general knowledge in order to make them the social and intellectual equals of their Christian neighbours and thus strengthen their claim to political equality. Laudable as this movement was it encountered the bitterest opposition from most of the Rabbis, and the battle which ensued raged with varying intensity in different parts of Europe and has not yet terminated to this day in certain regions of Eastern Europe. The antagonism to secular learning arose from the fear

¹ Josh. i. 8.

that it would ultimately usurp the place of religious learning and thus estrange the Jew from the faith of his forefathers, a fear that has unfortunately been proved in a great measure to be justified. But the march of progress could not be stayed by Rabbinical bans, and the enthusiasm of modern learning that was kindled by Mendelssohn's devotees, Hartwig Wessely, David Friedländer, and Daniel Itzig, became infectious. In 1778 the first modern Jewish school was founded in Berlin by David Friedländer, and this served as a model for other institutions that arose soon after in different parts of Germany, Austria, Italy, and England. Since then modern education has spread steadily throughout the Jewish communities of Western Europe and America, and it has also been introduced among the Jewries of the Orient; but in various parts of Russia and Galicia the conditions still resemble those that prevailed a hundred years ago.

The zeal that had formerly been devoted to religious lore has now been transferred to secular learning, and the mental acumen that had been sharpened by Talmudical dialectics has asserted itself in the rapid acquisition of modern culture. The Jews did not wait for the establishment of free schools by the State but founded their own schools, in which the Hebrew and religious curriculum was preserved side by side with the secular instruction. The name *Talmud Torah* was also retained for these institutions in various cases, and was only dropped later when the growing claims of the secular subjects caused a reduction in the amount of religious tuition. With the advance of the civil and political emancipation of the Jews in Western Europe and the introduction of compulsory education they soon availed themselves of the boon of the Government schools, though they naturally preferred to send their children to their own communal establishments, where they could receive a religious as well as a secular training, and where, moreover, they could grow up in a Jewish atmosphere. In no country, however, could the resources of the community keep pace with the growing educational requirements of its population, and hence increasing attendance at the State schools was inevit-

able. To such an extent has this developed that in the Jewish quarters of great cities, such as London,¹ New York, and Chicago, there are Government schools that are wholly or almost wholly attended by Jewish pupils. In fact, the great bulk of Jewish children in the Western world receive their education in municipal schools. The proportion of Jewish elementary school children attending non-Jewish schools in Prussia actually amounts to three-fourths,² and the number of Jewish scholars at higher grade institutions is out of all proportion to their population. In the Prussian middle schools the percentage of Jewish pupils is four times as large as the ratio of all Jewish pupils to the total number of pupils, in the higher girls' schools it is about ten times as large, and in the higher boys' schools ("gymnasias," modern schools, etc.) it is about eight times as large.³ A similar disproportion of the Jewish to non-Jewish scholars is found in several public schools in England (London and Manchester) and America.⁴ This abnormally high share in advanced education is commonly attributed to the fact that the Jews are almost entirely an urban people, largely engaged in commercial pursuits, who have therefore both more opportunity and inclination to attend educational institutions and also more need of the knowledge acquired there. But the cardinal motive consists in the Jewish esteem of knowledge for its own sake, derived from the devotion lavished for centuries upon the study of the Torah and the Talmud : even the poorest family is ready to make a sacrifice in the interests of the education of a promising child. Not only do Jewish children form an abnormal percentage of the scholars at public schools, but they often display an unusual aptitude, particularly in languages, history, and mathematics, and it is a frequent phenomenon at British and American schools that they carry off an undue proportion of the prizes and scholarships.

¹ According to the latest statistics less than one-fifth of the Jewish school children in greater London attend Jewish elementary schools, namely, 7184 out of a total of 37,236 (*Jewish Year Book*, 1912, p. 49).

² Ruppin, *Die Juden der Gegenwart*, p. 123.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁴ *The Immigrant Jew in America*, p. 190, edited by Dr. Edmund J. James (New York, 1907).

The Jewish passion for learning is manifested even more strikingly in the attendance at the universities. Until the end of the eighteenth century Jews were represented only sparsely at the universities, but during the last hundred years, and more especially during the last fifty, they have flocked in ever-increasing numbers to these seats of learning, particularly in Central Europe, and in a proportion far exceeding their ratio to the general population. According to Dr. Ruppin the percentage of Jews at the universities in Germany is seven times as large as the percentage of the Christian population (1905-06).¹ In Austria the percentage of Jewish students is four times as large as that of the Christian students, and in Hungary it is six times as large.² This disproportion is partly to be explained by the Jewish contingent including a certain proportion of students from Russia, who are unable to attend the universities in their native country except in limited numbers ; but even allowing for this foreign influx the Jewish proportion of the university students in Germany and Austria-Hungary is still exceedingly high. In the period from 1851 to 1904 the number of Jewish students at the universities of Austria increased sevenfold, whilst that of the Christian students hardly trebled,³ and if a similar disproportionate increase should take place during the next fifty years Jewish students would almost be in an absolute preponderance in certain centres. The percentage of Jews at some American universities (Columbia and New York) is also disproportionately large,⁴ though not to the same extent as on the Continent ; and in England there is likely to be a similar disproportion at Cambridge. Until recently the favourite study of Jewish university men was medicine,⁵ a predilection partly derived from tradition and partly due to its utility in any part of the world to which the student might emigrate ; but this

¹ *Die Juden der Gegenwart*, p. 126.

² *Ibid.*, p. 126.

³ *Die Juden in Oesterreich*, by Dr. J. Thon, p. 98 (Berlin, 1908).

⁴ *The Immigrant Jew in America*.

⁵ According to an investigation by the late Professor Morris Loeb (1904-05), Jews formed 39 per cent of the 1871 medical students in New York City, in which the Jews constitute 20 per cent of the population (Dr. M. Fishberg, *The Jews*, p. 377).

has now been outrivalled by law, to which Jews have devoted themselves in increasing numbers since they have been allowed to practise and plead in the courts. Jewish students, however, are now to be found in all the faculties of a university, and likewise at the various technical colleges. At the technical colleges in Vienna and Prague, for example, they actually form more than one-fourth of the total number of students.¹

Far different is the spectacle presented by Russia and Galicia, the home of more than half of the Jews in the world. Here the conditions in many respects resemble those that were general throughout Europe a century and a half ago, in Russia owing to the opportunities of education being severely restricted by barbarous laws, and in Galicia owing to the dominance of extreme religious orthodoxy as exemplified in the strength of the Chassidic sect and the veneration of the "Wonder Rabbis."² Although the first modern Jewish school in Galicia was founded at Tarnopol, by Joseph Perl, as early as 1815, and although attendance at the elementary schools is compulsory, the Jews in Galicia still look askance upon modern education as the breeder of heresy and prefer to send their children to the *Cheder* alone. Even as late as 1900 the percentage of Jewish children at the elementary schools was less than the ratio of the Jews to the general population.³ The hostility to the schools mainly affects the boys, however, whose religious training is considered of paramount importance, whilst far less scruple is shown in letting the girls receive a secular education. Hence Jewish girls until recently outnumbered their brothers at the elementary schools in Galicia and Bukowina,⁴ a circumstance that produced much unhappiness later in the marriage of girls with modern education, speaking Polish, to men trained only in Talmudical lore and speaking Yiddish.⁵ But a growing improvement in this respect has been effected since the establishment of the Baron de Hirsch schools, in which an adequate place is given in the curriculum

¹ *Die Juden in Oesterreich*, p. 102.

² See p. 284.

³ *Die Juden in Oesterreich*, p. 81.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁵ Dr. Siegmund Fleischer, in *Jüdische Statistik*, p. 230.

to religious instruction, and the children are able to conform with the requirements of the Jewish faith, such as the hallowing of the Sabbath and festivals. In Rumania there are no religious scruples about school attendance, but the restrictions that prevent the free admission of Jewish children to the State schools necessitate the maintenance of voluntary institutions which are effectively supported by the Jewish Colonization Association and the "Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden." The former body has already contributed to the erection of 29 Jewish schools in twenty-one different centres in Rumania.

In Russia the Jews are animated by the same passion for education as their brethren in the West, but an oppressive Government has taken effective precautions to prevent this passion being gratified. The State primary schools in the Pale are altogether too few for the needs of the Jewish population, and attendance at the high schools and universities is limited to a low percentage of the total number of pupils. At the end of last century the number of primary schools was estimated to be only 183, and hence the Jews were compelled to establish and maintain schools of their own, the number of which amounted to 637. The funds for these schools are derived from a communal tax on *Kosher* meat and from voluntary donations, but their inadequacy necessitates the support of a special society—"for the Propagation of Primary Education among the Jews in Russia"—to which the Jewish Colonization Association contributes some £20,000 a year as subventions to 54 schools. But the total number of pupils attending both types of schools did not exceed 60,000, which forms but a tenth of the Jewish children of school age in the country.¹ Nevertheless, the Jews at the last Russian census of 1897 showed a literacy nearly twice as high as that of the entire Russian people, 39 as compared with 21 per cent, whilst according to the Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration of the United States (1897) only 28·6 per cent of the Russo-Jewish

¹ *Economic Conditions of the Jews in Russia*, Bulletin of the Bureau of Labour, p. 580 (Washington, 1907).

immigrants above fourteen were illiterate, a percentage that declined to 23·3 in 1904.¹ This comparatively high degree of literacy among the Jews of Russia, which is all the more remarkable in view of the limited opportunities for elementary education, is mainly due to the *Chedarim* in which the children are taught to read and write Yiddish besides the subjects of the religious syllabus. There are about 30,000 of these *Chedarim* in the Russian Pale,² with probably an aggregate attendance of not more than 400,000, of which the girls do not form more than 5 per cent. Most of these Hebrew schools are in poor private houses, the surroundings are shabby and insanitary, the medium of instruction is Yiddish, the methods are antiquated, the hours—eight or ten a day—are abnormally long, and there is usually a lack of discipline. There are also about 500–600 Talmud Torah schools in which some instruction is given in equally shabby surroundings—a cracked ceiling, broken windows, grimy walls and floor, foul air, and deficient heating in winter. But during the last ten years, thanks mainly to the influence of the Zionist movement, a number of model *Chedarim* have been established in large Jewish towns in the west and south-west of Russia, which show a great improvement in scholastic and hygienic respects: Hebrew is taught by the Berlitz method, the secular subjects of the Russian primary schools are also taught, there is a systematic curriculum, and the tone and discipline are better. In addition to attendance at these various institutions a great number of children receive private tuition in Hebrew and Russian subjects.

The pursuit of higher education in Russia is circumscribed by the law which limits the percentage of Jews among the scholars of middle and high schools in the Pale to 10 per cent, outside the Pale to 5 per cent, and in St. Petersburg and Moscow to 3 per cent. Only in the

¹ *Immigration*, by Prescott F. Hall (New York, 1907), p. 81.

² *Education in Russia*, Board of Education Special Report, p. 193 (London, 1909). The Jewish Colonization Association estimated the number of *Chedarim* at 24,620 (*Die sozialen Verhältnisse der Juden in Russland*, p. 47, Berlin, 1906).

commercial middle schools, which are communal establishments maintained almost wholly by Jewish funds, are Jews admitted to the extent of 50 per cent of the scholars. These restrictions have an almost paralysing effect upon the efforts of the Jewish youth to acquire an advanced education, but as they press less heavily upon Jewish girls the latter possess on an average a better education than their brothers.¹ Similar restrictions bar the entrance to the universities, at which Jews may not form more than 5 per cent of the total students in St. Petersburg and Moscow, 10 per cent of those in Kazan, Kharkoff, Dorpat, and Tomsk, and 15 per cent of those in Warsaw, Kiev, and Odessa. The cramping effect of these regulations is vividly shown by the fact that whilst the proportion of Jews to the total number of students in Russia rose from 6·8 per cent in 1880 to 14·8 per cent in 1886, it fell, in consequence of the Rescript of the Russian Minister of Education in 1887, to 10·9 per cent. The severity of the hardship can be measured by a comparison with the conditions in Hungary, where the Jews send ten times as many of their sons to the universities as their co-religionists in Russia.² Finding the gates of knowledge closed to them in their native land the Jewish subjects of the Tsar are compelled to migrate to other countries to realize their academic ambition. The task is no light one, for apart from the question of fees and support during the years of study, they must also battle with the difficulties of the foreign language and with an anti-alien prejudice,³ but they are spurred on by the desire for a professional career. The universities most favoured

¹ *Die sozialen Verhältnisse der Juden in Russland*, pp. 52-53 (Berlin, 1906).

² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

³ In the early months of 1913 a serious agitation broke out among German students against the presence of Russian Jews at the universities, the result of which is a restriction of their admission to the universities of Berlin, Königsberg, Munich, Leipzig, Halle, and several other seats of learning. A similar agitation followed in Paris (see *Jewish Chronicle*, 11th April 1913), though without any practical effect, and also at several Austrian universities (Vienna, Prague, Grätz, etc.), where a restriction similar to that in Germany was introduced. The consequence has been that many Jewish students have migrated to Italy.

(thanks to the affinity of Yiddish with German) are those in German-speaking countries, that is, in Austria and German Switzerland as well as in Germany itself, whilst those in French Switzerland, France, and Belgium attract a smaller number. In all over 4000 Russo-Jewish students are found at the universities in these five countries, half of them in Germany alone, but there are also a good many at the various technical colleges, commercial high schools, and polytechnics, whose numbers cannot be exactly ascertained.

One of the most striking examples of Jewish solidarity is the systematic effort of the Jews of the West to spread the benefits of education among their brethren in the East. The first organized endeavour in this direction was made by the "Alliance Israélite Universelle," of Paris, which established its first school in Tetuan in 1862, and which has since founded a host of other schools in Morocco, Tunis, Egypt, European and Asiatic Turkey, and Persia. The total number of primary schools which it now maintains is 183 (28 in Morocco alone), comprising 1472 teachers and nearly 50,000 pupils, and involving an annual expenditure of £92,000, half of which is contributed by the local communities. A small fee is charged for the children of well-to-do parents, but poor children are given not only free education but occasionally also books and clothing. The "Alliance" also maintains farm schools in Palestine and Tunis, a teachers' training college in Paris to supply its schools with qualified teachers born in the East, and a Rabbinical Seminary in Constantinople to provide the communities of the Orient with spiritual guides equipped with a modern education.¹ The civilizing work effected by this educational activity in regions that might otherwise have been left to languish in stagnation deserves full recognition, but unfortunately the directors of the "Alliance" have imposed upon the schools a modern French character, without regard to the special conditions of the East, they have failed to provide continuation schools for the pupils who are apt to sink back into

¹ This Seminary was closed in June 1913. Cf. p. 213.

Oriental lassitude, and they do not exercise any personal supervision of the work. The activity of the "Alliance" has thus a negative as well as a positive side. Its efforts have been supplemented since 1871 by the Anglo-Jewish Association, which supports schools at Bombay, Jerusalem, and Mogador, and likewise, since 1902, by the "Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden," which, besides promoting elementary and advanced education in European and Asiatic Turkey, also subventions general and technical schools in Galicia, Rumania, and Bulgaria. The "Hilfsverein" has acted as a pioneer of the kindergarten system in the East, it conducts a teachers' training college in Jerusalem, and has provided the initiative and active co-operation in the founding of a technical college at Haifa at a cost of more than £50,000, which will not only form the coping-stone of Jewish education in Palestine but also give a powerful impetus to the study of applied science in the Near East. It maintains 44 institutions in all, 28 of which are in Palestine, with a total register of 7000 pupils, and it expended £14,700 upon its educational work in 1913 alone.

Thus, both in the East and West, modern education has been espoused by Jewry with an ardour unequalled by any other nation. Not content with the various types of Jewish and non-Jewish schools and colleges already enumerated, they have also established private boarding-schools in England and on the Continent, which generally comprise pupils from a variety of countries sent by their parents to acquire a higher-grade education in a Jewish atmosphere; and apart from the facilities provided by public scholarships for the prosecution of advanced studies there is a special committee or society in several communities for assisting youths of exceptional talent to complete their training and obtain a footing in the professional world. The success with which modern Jews have adopted secular learning is shown by their abnormally high participation in the liberal professions, one of the most striking testimonies consisting in the unusually large number of Jewish professors at the German Universities. Although the Jews in Germany form only

one per cent of the total population, and although the social antipathy to them is so strong, they provided in the session 1909-10 six per cent of the professors and *Privatdozenten* both in the faculties of law and philosophy and ten per cent of those in the faculty of medicine,¹ a percentage that would even be larger if we included Jewish professors who had adopted Christianity. The effects of modern education are not less striking among the masses of the Jewish population, not so much because of any scholastic distinction as on account of the complete revolution wrought in every sphere of Jewish life. The specifically Jewish language, such as Yiddish and Ladino, is gradually discarded in favour of the vernacular ; Hebrew education is relegated to an insignificant place beside the secular curriculum ; the religious bases of the home are being rudely shaken by the inroads of rationalism ; and the widening of economic opportunity that comes of a better education is transforming the industrial aspect of Jewry and bringing it into close and constant contact with its non-Jewish surroundings. All the distinctive features of Jewish life, material and spiritual, economic and intellectual, are being slowly assimilated to its environment. More than half of the Jews in the world still speak Yiddish, read books and newspapers in this language and conduct all their affairs in this medium ; but the rapidity with which the Russian Jew picks up English on his settling in England or America, aided by evening classes and Toynbee Halls, and the uninterrupted flow of migration from Eastern Europe to the Western countries, point to the declining importance of the Judeo-German tongue. In Turkey and its former dependencies, Bulgaria and Servia, the great bulk of the Jews likewise still use Ladino as their principal medium of intercourse ; but the constitutional era opened up in the Sultan's dominions and the political changes in the Balkans, supplemented by the systematic work of the Jewish educational agencies, will inevitably cause the restriction of the Judeo-Spanish

¹ Dr. J. Segall, *Die beruflichen und sozialen Verhältnisse der Juden in Deutschland*, p. 57 (Berlin, 1912).

tongue to an ever-diminishing circle. The benefits of modern learning have not been won without many a domestic tragedy, for the children of Russo-Jewish families settled in England and America, puffed up by a sense of their superiority derived from a higher education, often turn with contempt upon the Yiddish of their parents and spurn religious customs and traditions which they associate with it. Hence arise estrangements between children and parents whose effects are not confined to the home, for when once the children are emancipated from the religious control of the parents their absorption in the alien environment is often but a question of time.

CHAPTER II

JEWISH CULTURE

The comprehensiveness of Jewish culture—The linguistic aspect of Jewish literature—The development of Yiddish literature—Character of its mediæval period—Distinctive features of modern period—Present-day writers and tendencies—The character of modern Hebrew literature—Its earlier period—Phases of Romance and Realism—The nationalist phase—Jewish music and art—The manifold promotion of Jewish culture

IT is commonly supposed that the culture of the Jewish people is purely religious in character. This supposition is as erroneous as the widespread doctrine that the Jews are merely a religious community and is a natural corollary thereof, whilst it is partly derived from the fact that the Bible, the supreme product of the Hebrew genius, is in the main a work of religious inspiration. The scope of Jewish culture, however, is not merely spiritual in character: it embraces all other aspects and elements of social and intellectual life, though not in the same degree as the culture of a Western nation rooted to the soil from which it is sprung and favoured in its many-sided development by natural progressive forces. Although deprived of its land for nearly two thousand years the Jewish people has not only preserved all the literary treasures that it created on its own soil but continued to give literary expression in its own language to its thoughts, ideals, and emotions, in all the lands of its dispersion down to the present day. That the study of the Bible and the Talmud, with their accumulation of commentaries and super-commentaries, claimed its foremost attention and formed the principal anodyne in the long dark night of suffering is a fact that admits of little

dispute ; but the pages of Jewish literature bear vivid and abundant evidence that there were always creative minds who were not so utterly absorbed in meditating on the Law as to be deaf to the inspiration of life itself, or to the appeal of secular learning. Jewish literature provides a faithful record of the ideals and longings that animated the people in different ages, of its sorrows and tribulations, its habits and customs, its foibles and superstitions. Like every other literature, so too that of the Jewish people has not only its writers of liturgies and law-books but also its poets and dramatists, its philosophers and moralists, its historians and chroniclers, its fabulists and romancers, its satirists and humorists, and it has withal a wealth of folklore and proverbs. The bulk of this literature was produced in the national language, Hebrew, which was never exclusively the language of prayer. Its makers, being everywhere in a minority in the lands of exile, were influenced in matters of form by alien writers : the poets of Spain modelled their style upon that of their Arabic contemporaries, and their brethren in Italy admiringly followed in the footsteps of Dante. But despite this adoption of foreign forms the literature of the Jewish people was essentially Jewish in character, in its language, its modes of thought and its intellectual outlook ; it had a unity of ideals despite the dispersion of its writers over a dozen lands ; and it formed the collective product of the minds of the entire nation. Such was the character of Jewish literature until the end of the eighteenth century, when the acquisition of modern education and the growth of social intercourse with its non-Jewish neighbours brought about a change in the intellectual life of Jewry, which has reached its most advanced stage in the lands of liberty. Henceforth the Jews of the Western countries ceased to contribute solely to their national literature and left their brethren in the East as its main producers. They studied it, indeed, but as a literature of the past ; they wrote learned and voluminous works upon it, and translated many of its masterpieces into their adopted tongue, particularly in Germany ; but they

no longer moved and had their being in it like their forefathers of old. For them it was a finished book, which required no continuation but merely a commentary. They did not, indeed, become utterly and suddenly divorced from the life and thought of their people, otherwise they would have ignored its literature too. But they devoted their principal energies in a growing measure to the service of the culture of their native country, they participated in the making of its literature and art, its music and drama, and co-operated in all the other fields of intellectual labour—science, medicine, law, politics, journalism. A certain remnant, it is true, still remained faithful to the literature of their people, but as they were unable to use Hebrew as a literary medium they wrote their works in their vernacular, many of which have found their way in the form of translations into the treasury of Hebrew literature. But these non-Hebrew works, even if not translated into Hebrew, dealing as they do with Jewish life and thought, and inspired by Jewish ideals, have a rightful claim to belong to Jewish literature, just like the Arabic works of Saadyah or Maimonides or the Spanish works of Manasseh ben Israel. The writings of Zunz and Graetz, of Geiger and Munk, of Franzos and Zangwill, are products of the Jewish mind concerned with Jewish matters, and are all in their various ways contributions to Jewish culture.

No other literature has been composed in so many languages as Jewish literature, for no people like Israel has been scattered among so many different lands and continued to develop its national literature through centuries of exile. But just as the literature of every other nation is composed in the national language, so, too, the main body of Jewish literature, reflecting most faithfully the ideals, traditions, and tribulations of the people, is contained in Hebrew. The creation of this Hebrew literature never ceased and was never interrupted, not even by the advent of emancipation; it has continued from the age of the Psalmists and the Prophets down to the present day, and has even received a fresh and invigorating stimulus in

recent years. But an important difference that distinguishes the ancient and mediæval periods from the modern is that formerly the entire nation, wheresoever scattered, was engaged in its production, whereas nowadays the cultivators of Hebrew literature are confined mainly to a small section of the people and are locally delimited, the chief centres of activity being Russia and Palestine. The modern output of Hebrew literature has been accompanied by a parallel development in Yiddish, which testifies to the intellectual fertility of the Jews in Eastern Europe, and which forms with it the twofold expression of the Jewish national genius that has been least affected by alien influence. For the Jews in Russia and Galicia, living for centuries in a compact mass and endowed with all the features of a self-contained community, remained for the most part impervious to the ideas of education and progress that speedily seized their brethren in Western lands; they continued to keep true to the ancient ideals, and gave utterance to their thoughts and emotions either in the common national language or in the tongue which they had fashioned in their German exile. In this twofold medium they created a valuable and voluminous literature, comprising every form of prose and verse, lyric and epic, elegy and drama, satire and parody, the novel as fostered by different schools of romance, sentiment, and realism, the essay and biography, the sketch and feuilleton, apart from works on history, science, and philosophy, and a periodical press remarkable both for its fertility and its variety.

The rise and development of Yiddish literature is one of the most striking phenomena in the annals of the Jewish people. Yiddish, which is an English transliteration of the German word *Jüdisch* (itself elliptically used for *Jüdisch-Deutsch* or Judeo-German) is the name of the language which was spoken by the Jews in Germany in the Middle Ages, which they carried with them on their forced emigration in the sixteenth century into Poland, Lithuania, and Bohemia, and which now forms the principal medium of intercourse of more than six million people. Its basis

is the High German of the Middle Rhine district, which was spoken by Jew and Christian alike ; but it was written by the Jew in Hebrew characters, and upon being transplanted to Slavonic soil it absorbed many Russian and Polish words and inflexions from its new environment and appropriated many expressions and idioms from the Hebrew vocabulary, particularly those relating to religious matters, whilst it underwent slight variations of pronunciation and orthography in different regions and has even annexed a great number of English words and phrases in its latter-day development in England and America. The rise and growth of Yiddish is as natural as that of any other language, but because it differs from modern classical German it is often branded as a bastard lingo and is even spoken of by its own writers as " Jargon." But its analogy with English, to which it is closely related, should suffice to redeem it from the obloquy that is unjustly cast upon it. For English is simply the development of the Low German dialect that the Angles and Saxons brought with them to the island of Britain in the fifth century, whilst Yiddish is the High German dialect that the Jews carried with them into Poland and Bohemia ten centuries later. The former was the speech of conquerors, the latter that of fugitives : hence the difference in their later evolution. But the growth of Yiddish is not unique in the vicissitudes of Israel. The Jews who were expelled from Spain in 1492 and settled in Turkey took their Castilian mother-tongue with them and fashioned therefrom a Judeo-Spanish language ; whilst their brethren in North Africa spoke and wrote a Judeo-Arabic tongue, and those in Persia a Judeo-Persian, all, like their Judeo-German counterpart, being written in Hebrew characters. But the surpassing importance of Yiddish consists in its being spoken by half of Jewry, and in forming the medium of a rich literature palpitating with living interest.

The history of Yiddish literature is divided into two periods by the advent of Moses Mendelssohn. The first or mediæval period is mainly distinguished by the production of translations and paraphrases of the Bible, as well as of

folk-tales and folk-songs; whilst the latter period is marked by the output of novels, poems, and instructive works, which breathe a modern and critical spirit. The first Yiddish translation of the Pentateuch appeared in 1540, and that of the Old Testament more than a century later, in 1676; but the most characteristic and popular work of a religious nature was a homiletical paraphrase of the Bible, entitled *Ze'ena Ure'ena* ("Go ye forth and see")¹ and published in 1590, which embodied the pith of the principal mediæval commentaries and of the vast legendary lore of the Talmud, and which, with its quaint medley of legends, parables, and naïve moralizing, has formed the treasured companion of the pious Jewess down to the present day. In the sphere of secular literature the supreme place is held by the *Ma'ase-Buch* ("Story Book"), a compilation of over three hundred stories drawn from the Talmud, the Midrash, and the Cabbala, from the saga cycles of Germany and the fables of India and Arabia, which appeared in Western Germany at the end of the sixteenth century. Apart from this main collection a multitude of other tales was produced, for every Jewish town evolved its own cycle of stories; celebrated characters, such as the founder of the Chassidic sect,² inspired romances dealing with their exploits; and many of the popular romances of mediæval Europe, such as those about King Arthur and Bevyys of Hampton, likewise found their way into the Yiddish garner. But the literary spirit of the mediæval Jew also found utterance in verse, and a host of folk-songs, the product of ready rhymesters who wandered troubadour-like from town to town and sang their lays in the streets and inns of the Ghetto, remain to tell us of the hopes, the sorrows, and the joys of a bygone age.

The transition to the modern period of Yiddish literature was ushered in by Mendelssohn's translation of the Pentateuch into pure German (1780-83). This translation was at once the symbol and the most important expression of a movement which was destined to have a profound and lasting influence upon the development of the Jewish

¹ Canticles iii. 11.

² See p. 278.

people—the movement for the espousal of modern culture. The *Haskalah* or “Enlightenment,” as this intellectual reformation was called, preached the adoption of the vernacular and secular education, the abandonment of all Ghetto peculiarities of dress, and assimilation in all things not pertaining to religion, to the ways and customs of the surrounding population. The effect of this teaching of Mendelssohn and his disciples, coupled with the growth of social intercourse between Jews and Christians, was that the Jews of Germany began to look with disdain upon Yiddish literature and ceased to take part in its production. Henceforth the cultivation of Yiddish letters was conducted alone by their brethren on the east of the German frontier, who displayed a creative energy and critical faculty far exceeding those of the earlier period. Although the Jews of this region remained loyal to the despised “Jargon” they nevertheless studied German literature, and throughout the first half of the nineteenth century their writers were under the spell of German culture. They modelled their poetical productions upon the style of Schiller and Lessing; they wrote satires upon the customs and superstitions of the Chassidim; and they sought in divers ways to bring home to the masses the blessings of secular knowledge and of a practical view of life. This didactic tendency continued until the advent of Solomon Jacob Abramowitsch, who was the first to give a really modern note to Yiddish literature. Endowed with a rich imagination, with acute observation, and with a masterly style, Abramowitsch, who wrote mostly under the quaint *nom de plume* of “Mendele the Bookseller,” has depicted the kaleidoscopic life of his people in the Russian Pale in a series of novels and dramas, marked by a vein of satire and a spirit of criticism, which are possessed of high worth both as artistic works and as historic documents. The best of his prose works, *Die Kliatsche* (The Dobbin), is an allegory on the storm-tossed life of the Jew, whilst his *Judel* (The Jew), the only epic in Yiddish literature, narrates with glowing passion the various phases in the chronicles of Israel from the days of Pharaoh

down to the modern era of Anti-Semitism. Abramowitsch, who was born in 1835, and is still alive, exercised a stimulating influence upon his generation, which manifested itself in an increased literary activity that has continued to the present day, whilst the afflictions that have overtaken the Pale—the toll inflicted by the Russo-Japanese War, the abortive Revolution, and the periodic pogroms—have also given a powerful impetus to Yiddish literature.

The most popular writers who now dominate the Yiddish world, and specimens of whose works are accessible in a modern language, are Solomon Rabinowitsch, better known as *Shalom Aleichem* ("Peace unto you!"), who is at once poet, playwright, novelist, and critic, and whose volatile wit and vivid characterization are best displayed in *Stempenyu*, the romance of a humble violinist¹; Leon Perez, a prolific writer of stories, sketches, and poems, whose ballad, "The Sewing of the Wedding Gown," surpasses Hood's "Song of the Shirt" in pathos and technique; Morris Rosenfeld, transplanted to the New York Ghetto, where the grind of the sweatshop has drawn from him some of the most passionate lyrics in the Yiddish tongue; and Schalom Asch, who is at the head of the newer generation of writers, and has written several realistic novels depicting the most recent phase of Jewish life in Russia. But an enumeration of all these writers and a characterization of their works can afford but a faint conception of the many-sided interest of this literature, or of the feverish activity by which it is marked and is likely to be marked for many decades to come. For the denizens of the Russian Pale have been brought into intellectual communion with the Western world. All the great writers of European literature, from Shakespeare and Boccaccio down to Victor Hugo and Tolstoi, besides most of the popular modern authors, have been rendered into Yiddish; and hundreds of daily newspapers, magazines, and literary annuals, are issuing from the presses of Russia, America, and other lands in which Russian and Galician

¹ An English translation by Hannah Berman has been published by Methuen & Co. (1913).

Jews have settled in large numbers. It is inevitable that the children of the East European immigrants settled in Western countries, particularly in England and America, should soon be estranged from the literary fare of their fathers ; but the constancy and the immensity of the emigration from the East to the West, as well as the improbability of the abolition of the Russian Pale or of any radical change in the life of its inhabitants within any measurable period, are likely to prolong the life of Yiddish and its literature both in the Old and the New World for at least another fifty years.

Yiddish literature is the literature of the masses, produced, it is true, by men of education with a touch of genius, but intended for the great majority of the people whose knowledge of Hebrew has been confined to the prayer book and the Bible. The new Hebrew literature which developed simultaneously was at first cultivated only in educated circles, but it gradually penetrated to the masses too. In character it presents a radical contrast to the literature of the ancient and mediæval periods, for it is marked by a spirit of revolt against Rabbinical tradition and re-echoes with the voice of the critic and the rationalist. It comprises a succession of romances, poems, and satires, which faithfully reflect the lights and shadows of life in the Russian Pale ; it includes a number of critical and philosophical studies dealing with the manifold problems of present-day Jewry ; and it has a widely-ramified periodical press, which is increasing in vigour and volume from year to year. The language in which this modern literature is composed is in all essentials the same as that of the chroniclers, the psalmists, and the prophets of ancient Israel, developed and amplified to respond to all the latest needs of modern civilization, and fashioned into a facile instrument of modern thought. The propagation of the national idea during the last thirty years has given a powerful impetus, intensified of late, to the use of Hebrew both as a literary and a colloquial medium, especially among the idealists of Eastern Europe, but its advance is hampered by economic and social conditions which provide an un-

congenial soil for its development. The future of the Hebrew tongue lies in Palestine, where it has already become the principal language of the Jewish community ; it is the only medium through which the diverse elements of this community, drawn from a dozen climes, can understand one another ; it has become the language of the school and the home, of the shop and the bank, of the mart and the field, of the lecture-room and concert-hall. All the Jewish newspapers of the country are printed in it, forming for the present the principal channel of literary production ; but with the growth of the community, nourished and inspired by national ideals, it is inevitable that Hebrew literature should witness a new age of efflorescence in the land to which it owes its finest fruits.

The Renaissance of Hebrew letters, which assumed its most vigorous and creative form in Lithuania, was preceded by a period of preparation in different countries. It was inaugurated in 1743 by Moses Haim Luzzatto, in Italy, with his allegorical drama, *Praise to the Righteous*, and it was furthered in Germany by Naphtali Hartwig Wessely (1725-1805) with his epic on the Exodus, which was influenced by Klopstock's *Messiad*, and in Holland by David Mendes (1763-92) with his adaptation of Racine's *Athalie*. But these works were for the most part literary and artistic exercises, which bore little or no relation to contemporary life. It was in Galicia that the Hebrew writers, Rapaport, Krochmal, Erter, and Letteris, first derived their themes from the conditions and spirit of their time and expressed in various works the critical attitude that was slowly spreading in intellectual circles ; but even their activity had little or no influence upon the masses. The real ferment began in Wilna, where in 1830 a literary circle called the " Berliners "—a frank acknowledgment of Mendelssohnian influence—was founded for the cultivation of Hebrew literature and the advancement of Humanism. Its foremost figures were the poet, Abraham Beer Lebensohn (1794-1880), and the prose-writer, Mordecai Aaron Ginzburg (1795-1846). First a teacher and then a pedlar, Lebensohn, who was a free-thinker and pessimist,

was the first to give passionate utterance in a cycle of poems to the misery of his people. His philosophy of despair is summed up in the line :

" All human life is like the lightning that precedes
The thunderbolt of death."

Ginzburg was the first master of modern Hebrew prose, whose principal work, an autobiography, criticizes the defective education of his day, whilst Isaac Beer Levinsohn (1788-1860), who is styled the Mendelssohn of Russia, also devoted his main activity to modernizing Jewish education.

All these writers, however, did not exercise such a decisive and far-reaching influence as Calman Shulman (1826-1900), who, by his universal history in ten volumes and his universal geography on a similar scale, popularized Hebrew literature among the masses. His great achievement was the founding of the Romantic movement by his translation in 1847 of Sue's *Mysteries of Paris*, which may be regarded as the most notable event in Hebrew literature since the invention of a Hebrew prosody by the mediæval singers of Spain. The romantic spirit found its first original expression in Abraham Mapu, whose *Love of Zion*, an idyllic story of Amnon and Tamar, is the first prose work of creative imagination in Hebrew. But the stress of life soon caused the taste for Romance to be replaced by the wish for Realism, which was also exemplified by Mapu in *The Hypocrite*, a novel exposing the tyrannous persecution of the votaries of modern learning by fanatical Rabbis. Both in the fields of Romance and Realism, however, Mapu was overshadowed by Judah Loeb Gordon (1830-92), the greatest Hebrew poet since the Middle Ages, whose dramatic poems display artistic perfection and throb with the passion of a rebel spirit. Gordon's was the bitterest protest against the Rabbinical code as the foe to progress :

" By cords of precepts are we all enchained,
By fetters of inane and galling rules.
No more do strangers persecute our lives,
But our own kin. Our hands are bound no more,
But shackles clog our soul."

But he was also moved to despair by the pogroms and by the general helplessness of his people, exclaiming :

“ Whereto shall I compare thee, people mine,
Thee and thy vast and variegated lore ?
Unto a giant stricken prostrate, slain,
With all the earth thy yawning sepulchre,
Thy lore an epitaph for endless time.”

The critical phase represented by Gordon was superseded by the national idealism which now dominates Hebrew literature and which was heralded by the work of Perez Smolenskin (1842–85). Reared from childhood like all the previous writers in the Talmudic atmosphere, and seized in early manhood with modern tendencies, Smolenskin saw the only effective remedy for the ills of his people in its restoration to the land of its origin, and he accordingly dedicated his life to the propagation of Jewish nationalism. The medium of his mission was the review *Hashachar* (“ The Dawn ”), which he founded in Vienna and which enjoyed the co-operation of the best Hebrew writers of Europe ; but he owes his popularity at least in equal measure to his novels, which present a graphic and critical description of the conditions of Jewish life in his day, rounded off by a Zionist romance. It is Zionism that is the main source of inspiration of all subsequent writers, among whom the foremost place is held by Asher Ginzburg, better known as *Achad Haam* (“ One of the People ”). The distinguishing achievement of Ginzburg is the creation of a system of thought designated as Spiritual Zionism, which regards the establishment of a centre of national culture in Palestine as the paramount need of modern Jewry : a view that provides the spiritual justification of Zionism, which is generally based upon political and economic grounds. In the poetical world the most inspired singer is Nachman Bialik, likewise a votary of the national idea, who is ranked by some even higher than Gordon ; whilst Tchernichowsky, who has drunk of Hellenic springs, dedicates his muse to love and nature. The labourers in the field of Hebrew letters are now too numerous to mention,

for the Zionist movement has given a powerful impetus to literary productivity, not only in Russia but also in other Jewish centres. Frischmann the critic and poet, Sokolow the publicist, Ben-Avigdor the novelist, Brainin the biographer, and Klausner the historian, these and a multitude of others have enriched Hebrew literature with works that can compare in variety of interest with a European literature, for all the phases of Jewish life, its internal problems and its external conflicts, the doubts and hopes for the future, find ready and multifarious expression in the ancient language that has renewed its youth. Russia is likely to remain the principal home of Hebrew literature for many years to come, though several of its leading writers have of late removed to Western countries.¹ The future of Hebrew culture, however, rests in Palestine. The Jewish community there is too young and too small to have yet produced any notable literary fruits, apart from the great Hebrew dictionary of Ben-Jehuda; but its development will assuredly be attended by the growth of a literature worthy of the land of its birth.

Literature is only one of many channels in which the Jewish genius least affected by alien influence has sought expression, for it has also found utterance in drama, music, and art. The founder of the Yiddish drama is Abraham Goldfaden, who derived most of his themes from Biblical and mediæval history, but a large number of plays dealing with modern life have been written by writers in America to gratify the ceaseless demand of the Yiddish theatres in New York for new productions. Plays in Hebrew dealing with modern conditions have also been produced in recent years in Russia and Palestine. Jewish music, apart from that of the synagogue, has its distinctive quality, a fusion of Oriental motives with the pathos of exile, which resounds in a growing collection of operas, songs, and ballads; whilst there is also a distinctive note

¹ There is a universal Jewish association, *Histadruth Ibrith* ("Hebraic Organization"), with headquarters in Berlin, for the revival of Hebrew as a living language.

in the work of Jewish artists who have been reared in a Jewish *milieu* and are inspired by Jewish themes, such as Hermann Struck, Leopold Pilichowski, and the late Samuel Hirszenberg. The range of Jewish art, the existence of which is denied by some critics, is small as yet, but it is steadily growing and even includes a special manifestation in the form of book-plates with Hebrew designs and historic symbols. But Jewish art cannot properly develop and flourish except in a Jewish land.

The world of Jewish culture, however, as already observed, is not confined to Eastern Europe or Palestine, for in all the communities throughout the globe there is a certain amount of purely Jewish intellectual activity which lies quite outside the domain of religion, and the most distinguished representatives of which are sometimes even estranged from the synagogue. This activity expresses itself in a multitude of forms—creative and critical, popular and scientific. Novels, poems, and plays by Jewish authors, dealing in a modern language with Jewish themes, are now a regular feature of modern literature; but far more energetic and fertile is the activity that is concerned with the history and literature of Israel, with his religion and philosophy. The most numerous and valuable contributions in this sphere have been made by the Jews in Germany, who, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, devoted themselves to the scientific research of the intellectual treasures of their people—"die Wissenschaft des Judentums," as they called it—and have produced many standard works, such as the comprehensive history by Graetz, the studies on the liturgy by Zunz, and the exposition of the ethics of Judaism by Lazarus. But important additions to this branch of literature have also been made in England and America during the last quarter of a century, the most valuable being the *Jewish Encyclopædia*, the publication of which will always be a landmark in Jewish history. Moreover, the study of the past is cultivated in a host of learned periodicals, mainly in Hebrew, Russian, German, English, and French; and there

are special societies for the dissemination of literary works, both old and new, the largest being the Jewish Publication Society of America, which has 12,000 members and issues four new books every year. On the Continent the most important publication societies are the German "Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums," which is issuing a series of authoritative works on all branches of Jewish history, literature, and theology, publishes a *Monatsschrift*, and subventions learned works that would otherwise be unable to see the light; and the Russian "Society for the Publication of Jewish Scientific Works," which has published a Jewish encyclopædia in sixteen volumes and is now issuing a general history of the Jews in Russian. The conservation of Jewish culture is also served by the popular literary societies that abound in nearly every community, by the historical and academic societies in the principal countries, and by a host of Jewish libraries and reading-rooms.

CHAPTER III

CONTRIBUTIONS TO GENERAL CULTURE AND PROGRESS

The promotion of culture in mediæval and modern times—Contributions to Literature—Activity in Journalism—Drama and Music—The plastic arts—Philosophy, Scholarship, Mathematics—Scientific discovery and invention—The advance of Medical Science—Exploration—The promotion of the cause of universal peace

THE intellectual products of the Jewish people created within the bosom of the community and bearing the specific impress of their origin represent but a fraction of Jewish achievements in the world of culture. The mind of the Jew was never absorbed entirely in his traditional lore: throughout the Middle Ages he co-operated in the dissemination of knowledge and the advancement of science in Europe, distinguishing himself particularly in the fields of philosophy, medicine, astronomy, and exploration. The Jews gave an impetus to the progress of philosophical thought through the influence they exercised upon the Scholastic movement; they founded the medical schools of Montpellier and Salerno and produced most of the famous physicians until the sixteenth century; they discovered long before Copernicus the cause of the alternation of day and night; and they not only contributed in men and means to the voyage of Columbus but also took a prominent part in the discovery of the East Indies and explored nearly the whole of the world known in mediæval times. Notable as their share in the advances of civilization had already been it became much more vigorous after their admission to the rights of citizenship and their adoption of modern education,

and it steadily grew in volume and importance throughout the nineteenth century until there is now not a single sphere of intellectual effort and aspiration in which they are not active. In the fields of literature and journalism, of the drama, music, and art, philosophy and philology, mathematical science and medical research, technical invention and exploration, and in the highest sphere of human activity—the cause of peace—the Jews are now working side by side with the members of other nations, with whom they can bear comparison not only in respect of industry and capacity but also in respect of zeal and self-sacrifice, whilst in certain spheres, such as medicine, scientific invention, and exploration they have made original contributions of surpassing value. Despite the reproaches of clannishness and separatism, the Jews are devoting to the service of general culture and progress far more energy and activity than they display in the cultivation of their own national literary treasures, and in the process of time this deflection of interest is likely to extend, unless a centripetal force should arise in the form of a vigorous national settlement in Palestine. Their share in the intellectual labours of the present day is all the more striking when viewed in relation to their proportion to the world's population, and a brief survey will suffice to show that both in scope and worth it far transcends the grudging estimate of writers like Houston Chamberlain, who would deny the Jew all genius and creative power. A people which has produced four such epoch-makers as Moses, Jesus, Spinoza, and Karl Marx has amply justified its title to intellectual and spiritual originality, and a consideration of the achievements of such men as Heine, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Israels, Ehrlich, and a host of others who have won renown in various fields of human endeavour in our own time, will show in what a high degree the Jew has furthered the welfare and enhanced the ideals of mankind.

The sphere in which the Jews first began to co-operate in a conspicuous measure with their fellow-citizens in the intellectual world was that of literature. Scarcely had

they learned the language of their country than they began to contribute to its literary treasury as poets and novelists, as philosophers and historians, as essayists and satirists. The creative imagination which had formerly revealed itself in passionate odes to Zion now found its inspiration nearer at hand, in the life of the surrounding people, in its national traditions, its intellectual aspirations, its political struggles. The ardour with which the Jews threw themselves into the intellectual movements of their native countries is best illustrated by the literary salons of Berlin at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, which owed their creation to Jewish women like Henriette Herz, Rahel Levin, and Dorothea and Henriette Mendelssohn, and the glory of which passed away with their charming creators. It is in Germany that the share of the Jews in the development of the national literature has been more intimate and extensive than in any other country. From the days of Moses Mendelssohn, who laid the foundations of German æsthetics and literary criticism, radically influenced the *Laokoon* of Lessing, and introduced the leading thinkers of England and France to the German public, the Jews have contributed a succession of notable works to German literature and are represented in all its branches. Heine, the most splendid lyrist of his ungrateful country, is the brightest star in this galaxy of Jewish writers, which includes Ludwig Boerne, who stirred reactionary Prussia with his political writings, Berthold Auerbach, who delighted the people with his novels for forty years, the literary historians Karpeles and Geiger, and a score or more of eminent living writers—the poets Hofmannsthal and Mombert, the novelists Schnitzler, Georg Hermann, and Jacob Wassermann, and the prince of German humorists, Julius Stettenheim. The fecundity and originality displayed by modern Jewish authors has brought upon them the reproach that they are “judaizing” German literature and has given a new turn to Anti-Semitism, but an impartial critic like Kurt Martens actually assigns them a certain superiority over their

Teutonic fellow-writers and ventures the belief that "the greatest poetic creations of our German future will some day issue from a blending of the German with the Jewish spirit."¹ In other countries the part played by Jews in the literary world is of somewhat later date, but it is none the less of high significance. Denmark has produced the greatest literary critic of the day, Georg Brandes; in Italy we meet the names of the poet Romanelli and the historian of Venice, Romanin; in France, that delightful weaver of modern romances, Catulle Mendes; in Holland, the novelists Heyermanns and Querido; in Hungary, the popular ballad-writer, Joseph Kiss; in Russia the playwrights Minski and Yushkevitch, and the novelist Dymov; and in England, apart from Benjamin Disraeli, who was brought up in Christianity from childhood, we have the novelist and playwright, Israel Zangwill; the editor of England's *Dictionary of National Biography*, Sidney Lee; the popularizer of Shakespearean study, Israel Gollancz; the versatile biographer, Lewis Melville; and a score of writers on various subjects. Nor can we overlook the part played by Jews in the dissemination of literature, whether as translators of great writers (Maeterlinck, Nietzsche, and Hauptmann, owing their English versions to Jews) or in the publishing trade, in which firms like S. Fischer of Berlin and Calmann Lévy of Paris stand in the front rank of their respective country.

The activity displayed in the realm of journalism is even more extensive than in that of literature. It comprises the founding of the leading international news agencies, the ownership and editorship of some of the leading Continental newspapers, and collaboration on a countless host of papers in all parts of the world. The first great news agency that established a systematic service of correspondence in all parts of the world was that created by Baron Reuter, whilst the agencies of Wolff and Hirsch are of not less importance on the Continent. The *Berliner Tageblatt*, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, *Neue Freie Presse*, and *Pester Lloyd*, four of the leading organs in

¹ Kurt Martens, *Literatur in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1910), p. 161.

Central Europe, are both owned and edited by Jews, but these do not exhaust the list of periodicals that are under their entire or partial control, as there are many other journals that are both owned and edited by Jews, or owned by Jews and edited by non-Jews, or owned by non-Jews and edited by Jews.¹ Thus, the *Prager Tageblatt*, which so valiantly defends the interests of the German element in Bohemia, has a Christian proprietor, but its editorial staff is mostly made up of Jews. In America the *New York World* was first raised to a position of influence by Joseph Pulitzer, and the *New York Times* and *Globe* are also under Jewish control. As for Jewish collaboration on the world's press, whether as members of the editorial staff, external contributors, or foreign correspondents, their name is indeed legion, and many of them during the last quarter of a century have played an important part in the political world. Suffice it to mention such names ² as Lucien Wolf in England, Bernard Lazare and Jean Finot (Finkelstein) in France, Friedrich Dernburg, Maximilian Harden, and Theodor Wolf in Germany, Siegmund Münz and Heinrich Friedjung in Austria, and Max Nordau, the Paris correspondent of the *Vossische Zeitung* and the *Neue Freie Presse*. The great part played by the Jews in the newspaper world has in recent years formed the ground of bitter agitation on the part of the Anti-Semites, who complained that they use their position to further specific Jewish interests, without regard to the welfare of their own country. But repeatedly as this allegation has been made, not a shred of evidence has yet been offered in its support. Such papers as the *Berliner Tageblatt* and the *Frankfurter Zeitung* are the best edited organs of Radical opinion in Germany, but they foster Jewish interests only in so far as they advocate

¹ The *Vossische Zeitung*, after a career of more than two hundred years, has also recently been acquired by a Jewish firm, Ullstein & Co., the owners of the popular Berlin midday paper (*Berliner Zeitung am Mittag*) and other journals.

² Henri de Blowitz, the famous Paris correspondent of the *Times*, vigorously denied that he was of Jewish birth (*My Memoirs*. London: Edward Arnold, 1906).

the general cause of political progress in Germany—a policy that is regarded as “anti-national” only by the Prussian *Junker* party. The fact is that Jewish journalists are almost wholly absorbed in the politics of their respective country, are generally identified with a particular party, and frequently find themselves in opposing camps: the one cause that unites them is the cause of peace which certainly nobody can characterize as anti-patriotic. Moreover, a good portion of their activity is devoted to writings of a non-political nature among which they have cultivated with conspicuous success the fine art of the feuilleton.

The present century has also witnessed an increasing participation by Jews in the many-sided activity of the dramatic world on both sides of the Atlantic, whether as playwrights, actors, or stage managers. There is not a single cultured country in which one cannot in the course of the winter season see some drama that has either been written by a Jew, or in which a leading part is played by a Jew, or which is under Jewish stage-management. Alfred Sutro and Israel Zangwill in England, David Belasco in America, Henri Bernstein in France, Ludwig Fulda and Oscar Blumenthal in Germany, Arthur Schnitzler in Austria, Herman Heyermanns in Holland, and Henry Nathansen in Denmark—these are among the best known and most popular playwrights of the present day, and they do not by any means exhaust the roll of living Jewish dramatists. As directors and managers of theatres the Jews are numerous represented in Germany and Austria, and the most famous of them, Max Reinhardt, has created an artistic revolution in the production of plays. To the stage, for which the Jew is particularly fitted by temperament, Jewry has presented such notable figures as Rachel Felix, the most thrilling interpreter of Corneille and Racine, Adolf von Sonnenthal, the greatest actor of Austria, and Ludwig Barnay, acclaimed by German critics as a histrionic genius; and from its midst has sprung the greatest actress of the present day, Sarah Bernhardt, as well as a host of actors

and actresses of eminent rank. In the allied world of music we also encounter a number of illustrious names, belonging partly to a former generation and partly to this, and sufficing to rebut the charge of Wagner that Jews were devoid of musical genius. Among eminent composers are Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Meyerbeer, Offenbach, Goldmark, Bruch, Fromenthal Halévy, and Frederic Cowen; whilst the famous instrumentalists of the present generation include Joseph Joachim, Mark Hambourg, Mischa Elman, and Ephraim Zimbalist, whose performances have entranced crowded and critical audiences throughout the globe. Jews are also munificent patrons of the opera and the concert-hall and generously befriend the struggling genius. The light comic opera, which is now so much in vogue, has been cultivated with conspicuous success by Oscar Straus, Leo Fall, Jean Gilbert (Max Winterfeld), and the music-hall or variety theatre is also recruiting its artists in an increasing measure from the Jewish fold, which likewise provides a great number of theatrical agents and impresarios.

The plastic arts form a comparatively new field of activity for the Jew, but he has already achieved enough to win the world's recognition of his genius therein. It had, indeed, long been maintained that the Jew had no capacity for the plastic arts, and the anti-Semite Dühring maintained that the religious prohibition of artistic representation was designed to conceal an inborn incompetence. But this reproach has long been rolled away by the magnificent work of Jewish painters and sculptors displayed during the last half-century in the leading art galleries of the world. Josef Israels was acknowledged to be the greatest representative of modern Dutch art; Marc Antokolski was the most eminent sculptor of Russia; Max Liebermann is modern Germany's most original and distinctive painter; Solomon J. Solomon is among the leading artists of England; whilst in France Camille Pissaro, in Austria Leopold Horowitz, in Italy Leopold Pollak, and in Poland Leopold Pilichowski, have all given proof of the capacity of the Jew to shine in the plastic arts if only he

is allowed the opportunity. One of the most brilliant sculptors of America is Moses Ezekiel, whose works are also to be seen in London and Paris, in Berlin and Rome ; whilst another original sculptor, Jacob Epstein, is the author of the striking monument to Heine in the cemetery of Montmartre. The sons of Israel have also achieved fame in other branches of art : Hermann Struck as an etcher, Henry Osipov¹ as a bold caricaturist, and Léon Bakst as a brilliant designer of scenery and costumes for the theatre.

The versatility of the Jewish mind is illustrated by its distinction in philosophy and philology, archæology and law, mathematics and chess. The Jews have made good use of the right to study at the universities, which was originally denied to them, for they now occupy professorial chairs in almost all subjects, in most of the great seats of learning in Europe and America, and have advanced the bounds of human knowledge in countless directions. The metaphysical world is now dominated by Henri Bergson's idea of creative evolution, which has exercised as profound an influence as the teachings of Kant,² whilst the development of philosophical thought in the nineteenth century received a notable impetus from Hermann Cohen, who moulded the minds of Germany's Radical thinkers at the Marburg University, and from Hermann Steinthal, who founded the science of racial psychology. The history of philological science is studded with Jewish names : Graziadio Ascoli opened out new paths in the study of comparative philology and the science of phonology ; Arminius Vambéry traced the origin of the Magyar tongue and mastered all the languages and dialects of Central Asia ; Michel Bréal wrote an annotated translation of Bopp's epoch-making Comparative Grammar of the Indo-European languages, which is regarded as superior to the original ; James Darmesteter translated the Avesta into both English and French and added to our knowledge of the Persian and Afghan tongues, and his brother Arsène, with Adolphe

¹ *The Work of Henry Osipov*. With an appreciation by Oliver Onions (London : St. Catherine Press, 1911).

² Bergson is the first Jew to be elected to the French Academy.

Hatzfeld, compiled a French dictionary that superseded the work of Littré; Joseph and Hartwig Derenbourg have thrown light upon the Himyaritic and Sabæan inscriptions; and Ignaz Goldziher was the first to give a critical history of Arabic traditions. In the study of archæology Jules Oppert was the first who definitely identified the site of ancient Babylon and led the way in the interpretation of its contract tablets; Salomon Reinach has made important researches in Roman and Greek archæology; and Charles Waldstein has conducted excavations on the site of ancient Platæa. In the field of jurisprudence Tobias Asser in Holland and Josef Unger in Austria have made masterly and enduring contributions to the theory and practice of international law. From the formidable list of eminent mathematicians it must suffice to mention Georg Cantor, who invented the theory of transfinite numbers, and Karl Jacobi, who made epoch-making discoveries in the field of elliptical functions; Minkowski, who is a leading authority on the theory of numbers, and Weingarten, whose authority is supreme on the theory of surfaces; Schwarzschild, the director of the Potsdam Observatory, and Slonimski, the inventor of a counting-machine; Hadamard, the author of "Hadamard's theorem," and James Sylvester, who discovered the proof and extension of Newton's theorem on the imaginary roots of equations and shared with his collaborator Cayley the leadership in pure mathematics in England in the nineteenth century. The genius of the Jew for pure mathematics explains his supremacy in the game of chess, the champions of which—Zuckertort, Steinitz, Lasker—have all sprung from the Jewish fold.

The achievements of the Jew in the world of science are even more striking, for to him are due some of the most wonderful discoveries and inventions of the last hundred years.¹ It was Ferdinand Cohn and Nathaniel Pringsheim who revolutionized the study of botany by their discoveries concerning the sexuality of plants and

¹ For a fuller account of Jewish achievements in scientific invention as well as in medical research, see *Juden als Erfinder und Entdecker*, by Ernst Heppner ("Welt" Verlag, Berlin, 1913).

who created the first institutes for botanical physiology in Germany. It was Josef Oesterreicher who discovered Glauber salts, Aaron Aaronsohn who discovered primitive wild wheat in Palestine, Hermann Goldschmidt who discovered several minor planets, Gabriel Lippman who discovered the process of colour photography, Josef Popper who discovered the transmission of power by electricity, Albert Michelson who determined the velocity of light, and Heinrich Hertz who, by his researches in the production of electro-magnetic waves, paved the way for wireless telegraphy. The electro-thermometer owes its invention to Peter Ries, the microphone and gramophone were invented by Emil Berliner, the Graetzin light owes its name to Leo Graetz (son of the Jewish historian, Heinrich Graetz), and the discovery and preparation of petroleum for lighting purposes were made by Abraham Schreiner, a Galician tradesman, in 1853, a year before its discovery in America. Moreover, there are four important inventions that were anticipated by Jews, but which, owing to lack of means and the caprice of fate, they were unable to perfect and put upon the market. Thus, the first electric automobile was created by M. Davidsohn in 1854, the first benzine automobile by Siegfried Marcus in 1875, the first electric telephone by Philipp Reis in 1860 (seventeen years before the improved invention by Graham Bell), and the first rigid airship by David Schwarz in 1892. The fate of Schwarz, who struggled for years to secure the acceptance of his invention, was particularly sad, for after futile negotiations with the Austrian and Russian Governments he approached the German Government, and when at last, on 13th January 1897, a telegram from the German War Office, summoning him to Berlin for a trial flight, reached him in the street, he was so overwhelmed with joy that he fell dead on the spot. It was not until after the ascent of Schwarz's vessel, which took place in the presence of Count Zeppelin, that the latter proceeded to construct his first airship, for which he obtained the aluminium and propellers from the same works as Schwarz.¹

¹ The pioneer of flying in Germany was also a Jew, Otto Lilienthal, to

Equally impressive is the record of Jewish achievement in the manifold advance of medical science, which from the earliest time has numbered Jews among its ablest and most zealous practitioners. The most remarkable discovery of our day, salvarsan, is due to the Jew Paul Ehrlich, the value of whose specific in suppressing the most maleficent disease of mankind was unanimously acknowledged at the last International Medical Congress in London (August 1913); and to the same branch of therapeutics belongs the test discovered by August von Wasserman, from whom it has received its name. The researches and discoveries of Jewish physicians in other branches of medical science are also of commanding importance. Albert Neisser, in 1879, at the age of twenty-four, discovered the bacillus of gonorrhœa, and introduced the method of local treatment which has since been universally adopted. Albert Fränkel was the first to expound the theory of the micrococci of pneumonia; Ludwig Traube was one of the greatest specialists of his day in experimental pathology and wrote many epoch-making monographs on digitalis, fever, and diseases of the lungs, heart, and kidneys; Benedikt Stilling was the first surgeon to introduce ovariectomy into Germany (1837), and his works on the central organs of the nervous system were crowned by the French Institute; Salomon Stricker made important discoveries in the histology of the cornea and the mechanism of lymphatic secretion; Sir Felix Semon is the leading English specialist in throat diseases and was physician extraordinary to King Edward; Waldemar Haffkine, who was commissioned by the Government of India to inquire into the bacteriology of the plague in that country, discovered a method of inoculation by which he reduced the mortality nearly 90 per cent, and founded the Government Plague Research Laboratory which issues thousands of doses to various tropical countries; Friedrich Gustav Henle wrote standard works embodying notable discoveries concerning the cuticular root-sheath of the hair,

whom a public monument has just been unveiled (17th June 1914) near Berlin, on the spot on which, in 1896, he met his death while experimenting.

the microscopical structure of the cornea, and the " loops of Henle " in the kidneys ; Ludwig Jacobson, in 1809, discovered a hitherto unknown absorptive organ in the human nose, which was named " the Jacobsonian organ," and invented several surgical appliances ; Cesare Lombroso discovered the cause of pellagra, wrote epoch-making works on genius and crime, and " effected a revolution in the mode of viewing both the criminal and the crime which has found expression in the newer penal codes " ¹ ; Alexander Marmorek discovered an antidote for tuberculosis ; and David Nabarro co-operated in the discovery of the origin of sleeping sickness.

Wanderers as the Jews have always been against their will, they have also travelled in the interests of science and brought light into unknown regions in various parts of the earth. Arminius Vambéry was the first European who, at the peril of his life and in the disguise of a Sunnite dervish, penetrated through the Great Salt Desert to Samarcand and Herat. Emin Pasha, whose real name was Eduard Schnitzer, explored the Lakes Victoria and Albert Nyanza and was killed by a band of semi-Arabs. Hermann Burchardt explored the interior of Asia Minor and the Yemen and was murdered on the road from Mokha to Sanaa, and Eduard Glaser explored the whole of South Arabia with results that have revolutionized the study of its ancient monuments and of the history and geography of ancient Arabia. Marc Aurel Stein has made remarkable archæological discoveries in Chinese Turkestan ; Max von Oppenheim has unearthed the long-buried capital of a Hittite Empire in Central Mesopotamia ; Waldemar Jochelson has roamed through Northern Siberia and discovered among the aborigines two Yukaghir dialects hitherto considered extinct ; and Angelo Heilprin scaled the heights of Orizaba and Popocatepetl and led the Peary Relief Expedition to Greenland. Even Nansen is a grandson of a Russian Jew named Nathansohn, and Sven Hedin is likewise the grandson of a Jew, so that it should not surprise us to learn that Columbus was also of Jewish descent.

¹ Dr. Max Nordau in the *Jewish Encyclopædia*, viii. p. 155.

In addition to the foregoing spheres of activity in which Jews have contributed so much to the enlightenment and betterment of mankind, to the increase of knowledge and the decrease of suffering, they have also laboured in other directions upon a broad cosmopolitan plane for the promotion of the welfare of humanity. Imre Kiralfy has organized international exhibitions; David Lubin founded the International Agricultural Institute at Rome; Ludwig Zamenhof created the most popular of international tongues, Esperanto; Felix Adler has striven to banish religious strife by the propagation of ethical culture; Ivan Blioch preached the futility of modern war long before Norman Angell and inspired the convening of the Hague Conferences; and Alfred Fried is the most assiduous apostle of the gospel of peace.¹

Such, in brief, is the record of Jewish achievement in the various spheres of intellectual and idealist effort. It represents but a partial picture, however, of the labours of Jewry, for it contains the names only of those who have attained to more than local eminence; but there are thousands and tens of thousands who, if endowed with less genius, are working with equal zeal and industry in the various arts of civilization. This mere outline, however, attests an immense and impressive contribution to the advancement of the culture and progress of humanity, and yet it is the product only of the smaller half of Jewry, the half that has had the good fortune to enjoy the blessings of freedom and education. Who can say, when the cloud of oppression that still enwraps the greater half has passed away and the slumbering talents of nameless myriads have been quickened into play, what further conquests in the realm of science, what further creations in the realm of fancy, will yet be added by Jewish genius to the enrichment of mankind?

¹ In 1911 the Nobel Prize for the preservation of peace was divided between Alfred Fried and the late Tobias Asser. In 1907 the Nobel Prize for physics was awarded to Professor Albert Michelson, and in 1908 the prize for physics was awarded to Gabriel Lippman, and that for medicine to Professor Paul Ehrlich. In 1910 the Nobel Prize for literature was awarded to Paul Heyse, who had a Jewish mother.

BOOK VI

THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT

INTRODUCTION

Religion the prime factor in the conservation of Jewry—Its waning influence in modern times

RELIGION is the chief dynamic force of Jewish life. It is the principal power that has protected the Jewish people from the ceaseless assaults that have been aimed against it throughout the ages. It has endowed Israel with a sublime system of ethical ideals, and found concrete expression in a number of institutions that form the essential basis of every community. Without Judaism Jewry could not have survived the sufferings and struggles of its long and widespread dispersion; without adhesion to the principles and practices of their faith, which necessitated segregation and excluded intermarriage, the Jews would long ago have become absorbed among the nations. Other nations could exist without a distinctive religion, for they had their land, which formed the basis of their national existence; but for the Jews, who were bereft of their land, a distinctive religion—a faith which marked them off from all other peoples and united them in their dispersion—was the prime necessity of their existence. Their dispersion necessarily involved local differences of ecclesiastical organization, for whilst in the countries in which they enjoy absolute equality in civil and political life, such as England and America, they have no relations with the Government on the basis of their synagogical unions, they are, in Central and Eastern Europe, under the direct or

indirect supervision of the State in their ordering of their religious affairs.

Despite these differences of organization, however, and despite local differences of custom and ritual, the great bulk of Jewry was until comparatively recent times bound together by a unity of faith which is almost without parallel in the family of religions. This unity was due to a strong attachment to tradition, which held undisputed sway in every land until it was weakened, first, by the disillusion that followed in the wake of the false Messiahs; secondly, by the rationalism and scepticism diffused by modern education; and thirdly, by civil and political emancipation, which promoted social intercourse between Jews and Christians. The consequences of these various movements were that an increasing number of Jews deserted the fold in almost every country and intermarried with their Christian neighbours, and that, on the other hand, an attempt was made to reform the principles and customs of Judaism in accordance with the modern ideas generated by the spirit of the time and the influence of a liberal environment. These reforming efforts, however, have failed to check the secessions that are steadily going on, for the sovereignty of religious idealism has been usurped by material expediency. Hence the most powerful bond that kept the Jews together since the first day of their exile has lost its pristine vigour, and they are slipping slowly and steadily from its grasp and becoming absorbed among the nations around them.

CHAPTER I

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

The Synagogue the basis of the community—Complementary religious institutions—Religious organization in England, America, and on the Continent—Ecclesiastical administration—The training of the Rabbi—Varieties of Synagogue ritual

ORGANIZATION for religious purposes forms the basic foundation of every Jewish community. However numerous its social and educational institutions may be, however vigorous its economic and political life, every community owes its origin to the desire of its earliest members to meet together for public worship. As soon as there are in a town ten adult males above the age of thirteen—the minimum quorum necessary for congregational service—they assemble in the house of one of their number or in a hired room for common prayer on Sabbaths and festivals. If the spirit of piety in their midst is not strong enough to draw them together every Sabbath they are at least impelled by their racial consciousness to celebrate the festivals with their historic memories and symbolic ceremonies ; but should they be deaf even to the appeal of these hallowed associations they can rarely resist the solemn call of the New Year and the Day of Atonement, which summons the children of Israel in all lands to prayer and penitence. With the lapse of time the little community outgrows its modest meeting-place and must build unto itself a synagogue, a task in which it is usually aided by co-religionists from neighbouring towns and the metropolis ; and the conduct of the service, which was formerly read simply by a layman, is now entrusted to a professional cantor, the *Chazan*, who intones the prayers according to the traditional melodies with expert ability. The

founders of the community are thus the builders of its first synagogue. A further increase of the congregation enables it to appoint a Rabbi in addition to the cantor, and the continued growth of the community, whether by natural accretion or immigration, results in the rise of other synagogues, some of which are founded by groups of fellow-townsmen from another country. Thus, in London, New York, and other great cities in the West there are numerous houses of prayer, called *Chevroth* ("Brotherhoods"), bearing the name of the native place of their founders, such as the "Lodz Chevrah" or "Cracow Congregation," a phenomenon attesting the local patriotism of the Jew.

The synagogue is the basic religious institution of the community, but it by no means suffices for the variety of its spiritual needs and religious requirements, and hence it must be supplemented by a series of other institutions. First comes the schoolroom, generally situated on the premises of the synagogue itself, in which the children are taught the Hebrew language and the tenets of Judaism. Secondly comes the slaughter-house, in which cattle and poultry that are permitted to be eaten are killed in accordance with Rabbinical law to provide *kosher* meat. Next comes the *Mikvah*, or bath for ritual purification, which is far more prevalent in the East than in the West; and then a separate cemetery consecrated to the reception of the dead. In the West, and among those assimilated to Western modes of life, the schoolroom is for the use of the children. But in the East, and among those settled in the West who still preserve the ways of the East, the schoolroom is a *Beth Hamidrash*, a "house of study" in which adult congregants foregather at night for the study of the Talmud under the guidance of the Rabbi, and in which even during the day pious greybeards meditate over the fathomless wonders of the Torah. In such communities the children receive religious instruction in a private school (*Cheder*) kept by a teacher in his own house, or in a publicly supported institution called a *Talmud Torah* ("Study of the Law"). The provision of *kosher* meat in a populous



THE EVE OF ATONEMENT DAY
FROM THE RELIEF BY HENRYCK HOCHMAN

centre demands several abattoirs, equipped by a large staff of licensed slaughterers, and controlled by a board representing the various synagogues in the town, called the Board of *Shechitah* ("Slaughtering"). The religious requirements of the community as regards food are not complete, however, until it also possesses a bakery for the production of bread and cakes, and a dairy for the supply of milk and butter, according to Jewish ritual law. The cemetery is generally under the administration of the council of the synagogue or of a union of synagogues, but it is occasionally controlled by an independent Burial Society; whilst the final rites connected with the interment of the dead are usually discharged by the *Chevrah Kadisha*, a "Holy Brotherhood" whose members are animated by a high sense of religious duty.

The foregoing description of the growth of a congregation applies in essentials to all parts of the world. It reflects the usual course of development in all English-speaking countries, where the State does not interfere with the religious liberty of its Jewish subjects, who may establish congregations and build synagogues whenever they please, but it is subject to certain qualifications on the Continent. It is true that the constitution of the London United Synagogue was approved by Act of Parliament, but this measure was desired by the founders of the United Synagogue themselves and was not dictated by the State. It is because of the complete liberty allowed by the civil authority, both national and municipal, that the ecclesiastical system of Jewry in English countries consists mainly of separate congregations, each of which is independent of and unconnected with the other. Apart from the United Synagogue and the Federation of Synagogues in London there is no other ecclesiastical union in British Jewry, but the Chief Rabbi of the United Synagogue is also elected by representatives of other congregations in England and the British Colonies, and is thus recognized as the spiritual head of the majority of the Jews in the British Empire. In the United States, however, every congregation is a law unto itself, though conferences

both of the Orthodox and of the Reform Rabbis are held periodically to discuss religious questions and decide upon common action.

On the Continent the tutelage exercised by the Government over its Jewish community in the Middle Ages has been preserved for the most part to the present day, though in Western Europe it has assumed a constitutional form, free from any despotic or humiliating feature. In Germany and Austria every Jew must be a member of the congregation in his town and contribute the tax imposed upon him (an obligation that is enforced, if necessary, by the civil authority), and only those are exempted from this duty who take the extreme step of formally renouncing their Judaism by declaring themselves *confessionslos* ("religionless"). The formation of congregations and their approval by the local or central Government is compulsory in these countries, but there is no uniformity in either of them as regards the exact measure of control exercised by the civil authority. In Württemberg, Baden, Hesse, and Mecklenburg, the congregations are administered by a central board directly responsible to the Government, which sanctions the election of Rabbis; but in Prussia there is no central board, and each community can create its own ecclesiastical organization, though under the general supervision of the State. In Austria and Hungary there is likewise local autonomy, but in Moravia the committee of every congregation must be reported to the police and the election of a Rabbi must be confirmed by the authorities. In France, since the Act of Separation, the ecclesiastical organization of the Jews is free from Government control, but the system of consistories originated by Napoleon I, with a central council in Paris, is still maintained, a system that likewise prevails in Holland, Belgium, and Alsace-Lorraine. In Russia, as in Central Europe, every Jew must belong to some congregation, whilst new congregations can be formed only with the permission of the Government. Moreover, every congregation usually has two Rabbis: a spiritual head elected by itself, and a second chief, the "Crown Rabbi," appointed by the

Government to keep the registry of births, marriages, and deaths ; but there is no Chief Rabbi for the entire Empire or for any province. In Turkey there is an elaborate system of communal organization, governed by a national council, a temporal council, and a spiritual council ; and the Chief Rabbi, whose election requires the sanction of the Government, is endowed by it with high powers of authority over the spiritual affairs of the whole of Ottoman Jewry.

It will thus be seen that there is no central religious authority in Israel, no single ecclesiastical dignitary who exercises a universal overlordship. Each country is independent of the other ; for the most part each local congregation is independent of the others in the same country ; and even each synagogue is independent of others in the same town. But what binds the great majority of congregations together and supplies an element of uniformity is the accepted authority of traditional law as embodied in the Talmud and codified in Joseph Caro's *Shulchan Aruch* (" Table Prepared "). It is in conformity with these codes that most of the Chief Rabbis, be their diocese an Empire, a country, or merely a congregation, conduct their administration, though personal proclivities and local circumstances produce a certain variety of attitude to laws that are not of fundamental importance. The Chief Rabbi usually performs his ecclesiastical functions through the medium of a court, the *Beth Din* (" Court of Judgment "), in which he is assisted by two or more Rabbis, and he bears the title of *Rosh Beth Din* (" Head of the Court of Judgment "). This Court, the modern counterpart of the ancient Sanhedrin, decides all questions pertaining to the religious domain. It issues marriage certificates and bills of divorce ; it deals with cases of proselytism ; it examines and licenses slaughterers, who must produce their knives for searching inspection, and it also licenses butchers ; it takes systematic measures to ensure the ritual fitness of all food offered for Jewish consumption, not only meat, but also bread, milk, butter, and cheese ; it supervises the baking of unleavened bread for Passover ; and it solves numberless problems relating to ritual observances and ceremonies that arise in

the daily life of the community. Its authority is seldom disputed, and it is noteworthy that in the few cases in which the authority of the Chief Rabbi in England has been disputed by provincial butchers, in regard to pronouncements on the *kashrus* or ritual fitness of meat offered for sale, it has been upheld by the civil court. The jurisdiction of the *Beth Din* usually comprises only questions of religious law, but civil disputes are also often voluntarily submitted to its decision, and cases in which both parties are Jews are also occasionally referred to it by civil judges.

The aspirant to the Rabbinate must undergo a long course of training in a theological seminary before he is qualified to receive the title of Rabbi. The instruction in the few seminaries (*Yeshiboth*) in Russia is modelled largely on the system observed throughout the Middle Ages and is almost wholly confined to Hebrew lore; and after the student has passed a searching examination in the Talmud and the ritual codes by his teacher or another Rabbi he is given the diploma of *Hattarat Horaah* ("permission to teach and decide"), which attests his ability to discharge Rabbinical functions. The diploma confers no sacred power and is not a priestly licence: it may be acquired by any layman who is sufficiently learned in Rabbinic lore, and its holder derives the authority to act as Rabbi from the congregation that appoints him. During the nineteenth century modern Rabbinical seminaries were established in Western Europe and America,¹ at which stress is laid upon the acquisition of an advanced secular education in addition to the knowledge necessary for the Rabbinical office, and hence the modern Rabbi generally possesses a university degree. He is further distinguished from his colleagues in Eastern countries and from most of the Rabbis ministering to foreign congregations in the West by a more practical conception of his office. The Rabbi of the Eastern type delivers sermons only

¹ The most important seminaries, in the order of their foundation, are those of Breslau (1854), London (1856), Berlin (the moderately conservative *Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in 1872, and the strictly orthodox *Rabbiner Seminar* in 1873), Cincinnati (1874), Budapest (1877), New York (1886), and Vienna (1893).

occasionally, which are profound expositions of Talmudical texts ; he answers all questions relating to religious customs and ritual practice ; but he makes little or no attempt to take account of the influence of modern conditions upon Judaism. The Western Rabbi preaches sermons regularly in the vernacular, in which he deals with problems of the day and tries to reconcile Jewish tradition with modern thought ; he supervises the religious education of the young ; he visits his congregants ; he visits the sick and helps the poor ; and he is regarded and accepted in the outer world as the representative of his community. The professional assimilation of the modern Rabbi to the Christian minister has in England gone to the extent of his adopting the ordinary clerical garb and the title of " Reverend." ¹ But in the purely ecclesiastical sphere he enjoys less authority than his Eastern colleague ; the latter is the undisputed leader of his community, the arbiter in all questions of religious observance, whereas the modern Rabbi is often the mere instrument of his congregation, whose will is sovereign in all proposed changes of the ritual or liturgy.

The centuries of dispersion and myriadfold dismemberment of Jewry have naturally produced divergences of synagogue ritual that are quite unconnected with differences of doctrine. There are two main systems which are grouped around the ritual of the Ashkenazim, or Jews of Germany (Heb., *Ashkenaz*), and around that of the Sephardim, or Jews of Spain (Heb., *Sephard*). The Ashkenazic liturgy, which is by far the most extensively used, has undergone minor variations in Russia and Poland as well as in England and America ; whilst the Sephardic ritual, which differs in the sequence of certain prayers and the text of others, and shows a preference for the compositions of writers of Spanish origin, is exclusively employed by the descendants of the exiled Jews of Spain and Portugal, who migrated mostly to Turkey and the other lands washed by the Mediterranean, as well as, in smaller groups, to England

¹ The late Chief Rabbi of England, Dr. Herman Adler, once conferred the title of " Reverend " upon a schoolmaster, an act which aroused considerable criticism as being utterly foreign to Jewish tradition.

and Holland, and even to various parts of North and South America. The Sephardic ritual has also undergone certain variations, the principal being the Castilian, the Aragonian, the Catalanian, and the Provençal, whilst further variations are found among the Jews of Arabia and Morocco. The Sephardim, moreover, who probably do not number more than half a million in all, differ from the Ashkenazim in their pronounciation of Hebrew, and attach less importance to an elaborately musical service. They have their own synagogues and their own independent Rabbis, but in all the essentials of faith and observance they acknowledge the same traditional authority as the majority of Jewry.

CHAPTER II

FAITH AND OBSERVANCE

Paucity of sectarian differences—The rise of Reform Judaism—Evolution of the ritual code—Creed and prayer—The worship of the Synagogue—The Chassidim—Orthodoxy in Western Jewry—Characteristics of Reform Judaism and its effects—Causes of the religious decline

DESPITE its long history and world-wide dispersion, Jewry presents a higher degree of religious unity than either of the two great religions that have sprung from its loins. The comparative paucity of sectarian differences is all the more remarkable in view of the local religious autonomy that has been enjoyed by Jewish communities since the decay of the Talmudical academies in Babylon and the extinction of the Princedom of the Captivity in the year 1040. The few sects that have arisen in the history of Israel since the downfall of its national independence were banned as sowers of heresy, and were doomed to stagnation or extinction. The Karaites who arose in the eighth century as rebels against the authority of the Rabbinic traditions and, inspired by an ascetic view of life, founded a new religious system on the letter of the Scriptures alone, number to-day only some 12,000 souls, concentrated mostly in southern Russia, with a few small communities in Turkey and Egypt. The Pseudo-Messianic sects that arose in the eighteenth century under the influence of Sabbatai Zevi and his adventurous imitators, moved rather by mental unrest than by dogmatic dissent, left no trace upon the surface of Judaism itself. The sect of the Donmeh (Turkish, "apostates") in Salonica, formed by Sabbatai's nephew, Berechiah Querido, is practically a community of Moslems;

whilst the Frankists in Poland, who went over to Christianity, have completely died out. The only sect of the eighteenth century that has remained within the fold of Israel is that of the Chassidim, founded by Israel ben Eliezer, of Miedzyboz, in Podolia, who was famed as a worker of miracles through the name of God, and known as the *Baal Shem Tob* ("Master of the Good Name"). But the Chassidim do not differ from the rest of orthodox Jewry on any point of dogma: they differ simply in their conception of the religious life. They regard fervour of faith as its highest essential and as superior to profundity of Talmudical learning, and although they have their own houses of prayer and their own ritual, they fully accept and acknowledge the authority of the Oral Law.

It was not until the earlier half of the nineteenth century, when the Jews of Western Europe had already begun to enjoy the firstfruits of civil emancipation and had come under the influence of modern culture, that the first schism in the domain of dogma took place. This schismatic movement, known as Reform Judaism, was the development of a tendency that had already begun at the close of the eighteenth century in Germany for the improvement of the synagogue service, and which was mainly confined to the excision of obsolete prayers (such as the prayers for the heads of the extinct Babylonian academies) and the curtailment of festival hymns written in obscure phraseology. It followed up these external changes, that were designed merely to produce a decorous service, with a change in the doctrines and practices of Judaism that was designed to harmonize the ancient religion with the modern outlook of some of its followers. It rejected the authority of the Oral Law, it introduced an organ and a mixed choir into the synagogue, it expunged from the prayer book all references to the coming of a Messiah and the restoration of Zion, and it abolished the second days of the festivals as an anachronism dating from the Talmudic age, when the exact incidence of the festivals could not be fixed as in these days of science. The crucial principle that separated the Reformers from orthodox Jewry was their conception of the destiny of

Israel. Ever since the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, the Jews had looked upon their dispersion as a punishment for their sins and fervently prayed for their restoration to the Holy Land. The Reformers declared that the dispersion was not a punishment but a divinely appointed means for spreading the teachings of Judaism throughout the world, and hence they ceased to pray for a personal Messiah and for the return of Israel to his ancestral land. These revolutionary doctrines were first proclaimed in Germany and found only limited acceptance, but upon their being transplanted to the United States they found a more friendly atmosphere and developed to radical extremes, producing an ever-widening breach from the traditions of Orthodox Judaism. But let us first examine the principles of Orthodox Judaism, and we shall then be in a better position to appreciate the significance of Reform Judaism. We must only premise that neither of these designations correctly denotes certain shades of conformity that lie between strict Orthodoxy and advanced Reform, for there is a scale of degrees of observance—or non-observance—that leads from the one extreme to the other.

The faith and practice of the orthodox Jew are based upon a dual Law—the Written Law, consisting of the Torah or Bible; and the Oral Law, consisting of the Talmud. He believes that in addition to the Written Law given on Mount Sinai an interpretation of its difficulties was simultaneously revealed to Moses, and that this interpretation, handed down through an unbroken chain of authorities, from Moses to Joshua, from Joshua to the Elders, from the Elders to the Prophets, and from the Prophets to the Men of the Great Synagogue, was carefully transmitted to the Rabbis who flourished after the fall of the Temple and who expounded it in orderly and systematic form in the six "orders" or sections of the Mishnah. This Mishnah, which means "Repetition," or that which is learnt by heart, was the result of a compiling and editorial activity that was carried on for more than two centuries and which was completed about the year 200 C.E. It was a compendium of law relating to all aspects of life

and all branches of religious observance, designed, in the Rabbinic phrase, to "form a fence" about the Torah, and thus reduce the probability of transgression. But the Mishnah, which was based upon the Scripture and which merely set forth the traditional law with little argumentation, was subjected to further discussion and examination in the academies of Babylon and Palestine for three centuries, and the resultant record of the emendation and expansion of the disputations and decisions received the name of *Gemara* or "completion." The *Mishnah* and the *Gemara*, text and commentary, together constitute the Talmud, which, in its Babylonian recension, has exercised its sway over Jewry throughout the centuries of the dispersion. The Talmud is primarily a detailed exposition of traditional law, accompanied by the argumentative preamble and casuistic discussion that preceded each decision, but it is also a vast treasure-house of ancient lore, replete with parables and maxims, anecdotes and folklore, allegories and exhortations, that throw a flood of light upon the life, faith, and customs of the Jews in the early period of their exile. The Talmud was thus too monumental and labyrinthine a work to be convenient for ready reference in the countless questions of ritual that arise in the daily life of the observant Jew, and hence it was reduced by Moses Maimonides, in the twelfth century, to a code of more manageable proportions, the *Mishneh Torah* ("Copy of the Law"), divided into fourteen books. Even this work was regarded by later generations as too unwieldy, so it was reduced in turn, a century and a half later, by Rabbi Jacob ben Asher, to a new code entitled *Arbaah Turim* ("Four Rows"). But this code, too, was reduced still further in the sixteenth century by Rabbi Joseph Caro into a handy digest, which he entitled *Shulchan Aruch* ("The Prepared Table"). This work, systematically arranged into books, sections, chapters, and paragraphs, became the standard code of Jewish law and life; but even its publication did not put an end to the exposition of traditional law, for, as it was the product of a Sephardic Jew, annotations were added by

Rabbi Moses Isserles embodying the customs of Polish and German communities, and it received further accretions in the form of notes and commentaries dealing with questions that had arisen through changed conditions of life. The *Shulchan Aruch* thus forms the final repository of law, and only they who scrupulously conform to its regulations are regarded as orthodox Jews in the strictest sense. It expounds the duties of the Jew to man and his Maker ; it governs his acts in all the relations of life, private and public, domestic and social, from the cradle to the grave ; it enacts in minute detail how he shall dress and how he should walk, what he should eat and what he should drink ; how he should kill the animals fit for his consumption, and prepare their flesh for food ; how he should pray and how he should study, how he should keep the Sabbath and celebrate the feasts and fasts, how he should bake the unleavened bread for Pass-over and build the booths for Tabernacles ; what his duties are to his wife and his children, to his parents and his teachers, to his neighbours and the community, to the orphans, the sick, and the poor, to the living and to the dead.

So elaborate and all-embracing is this compendium of ritual law, covering every conceivable act in human life, that it might seem to leave no room for spiritual religion, and yet the articles of faith formulated by Maimonides and the pages of the prayer book bear abundant evidence to the sublimity of faith of the orthodox Jew. He believes in the unity, the eternity, and the incorporeality of the Creator, who is the cause of all things and is alone to be worshipped. He believes in the words of the prophets, of whom Moses is the greatest, and in the divine origin of the Torah, which is unchangeable. He believes that God knows the deeds and thoughts of man, and rewards those who observe His commandments and punishes those who transgress them ; and he believes in the coming of the Messiah and the resurrection of the dead. But he attaches less importance to creeds than to deeds. He lives and acts not according to a catechism of faith but according to a code of laws and customs, which enshrine for him a religious truth, an ethical ideal, or an historic

experience. He shuns all food and drink forbidden by the dietary laws, avoids all restaurants but those that are *kosher*, and is shocked on seeing a fellow-Jew eat a piece of forbidden meat. He has special benedictions for all occasions : when it thunders or lightens, when he sees a rainbow or the new moon, when he undertakes a sea voyage or has escaped a serious danger, when he beholds a distinguished sage or is in the presence of a monarch, when he hears good tidings or is informed of a death. He offers up three principal prayers a day in Hebrew—not brief prayers, but a complete service of prayers and psalms, which occupies at least half an hour in the morning and half as long in the afternoon and the evening. He extols the greatness of God, thanks Him for His manifold mercies, entreats His guidance and protection throughout life, prays that all nations shall bow down to Him, and that the scattered children of Israel may be gathered together from the four corners of the earth and be reunited in Zion. At his morning devotions he wears a *tallis*, or praying-shawl, with fringes at the four corners, and on all days but Sabbaths and festivals he also dons his *tephillin* (phylacteries) ; even on his travels he takes these accessories with him, and whether on an Atlantic liner or in a continental express he never fails to don his *tephillin* in the morning, contenting himself for the nonce with the small fringed garment on his body instead of the more ample and attractive *tallis*, and steeled by his faith against the amused gaze of the Gentile or of his own lax brethren. The rationalist may shake his head at this periodic and punctual outpouring of prayer, but he must indeed be numb to all sense of the sublime who is not impressed by the sight of a poor pedlar, who, after trudging the whole day long with a heavy pack in search of a pittance, suddenly sees that the sun will set before he can reach home, and so hastens to some deserted lane or field, where he places his burden on the ground, turns his face towards the east, and devoutly begins the afternoon prayer :

"Happy are they that dwell in Thy house ; they will be ever praising Thee. Selah" (Ps. lxxxiv. 4).

The orthodox Jew is a devotee of the synagogue. If he cannot attend every morning, by reason of his work or business, he makes an effort to be present at least on Mondays and Thursdays, when a portion of the Law is read, and likewise every evening, when the service is followed by the study of the Talmud under the lead of the Rabbi. His synagogue may be simple and even sombre in architecture, the light being obscured by tall buildings around it, but he is attracted to it as naturally as the earth to the sun. Nothing but illness can excuse his absence on the Sabbath, while he attends with his sons on Friday evening and also with his wife and daughters on Saturday morning, though the latter must sit in a gallery, where they are often concealed from the male worshippers below by a closely-patterned grille or a curtain. He drinks in with delight the florid melodies of the *Chazan*, and is even prepared to conduct the service himself in the cantor's absence, whilst he accounts it a special merit to be called up to the reading of the Law and a higher merit still to be summoned to cantillate the portion from the Prophets. His praying is marked by fervour and exuberance: he sways his body in literal interpretation of the Psalmist's words, "All my bones shall say, Lord, who is like unto Thee!"¹ His responses are emphatic and resonant, and he sings the Sabbath hymns with glee. On the Fast of Ab he mourns the destruction of Jerusalem with saddened spirit, sitting bootless on a low stool, listening to the reading of the Lamentations by the reader, and then intoning himself in turn one of the cycle of dirges on Zion; and on the Feast of Purim he celebrates the discomfiture of Haman and his plots by punctuating the recitation of the Book of Esther with the whirl of a rattle or the stamp of feet whenever the name of that archfiend is mentioned. The Day of Atonement sees him wrapped in a white robe (symbolical of his cerements), pouring forth a flood of prayer that God may forgive him for sins committed and uncommitted, beating his breast at the name of every fresh

¹ Ps. xxxv. 10.

iniquity, and bedewing the prayer book with tears; but on the festival of Tabernacles he takes citron and palm-branch and shakes them to the melodious accompaniment of psalms, while on the feast of the Rejoicing of the Law he proudly bears a scroll on one of the seven circuits round the *Almemar* ("the cantor's platform"), followed by his juvenile sons carrying paper flags adorned with the figures of Moses and Aaron or a design of the Ten Commandments, and singing the hosannas right merrily, after which he and all his fellow-worshippers indulge in feasting and drinking, and pass from spiritual elation to spirituous exaltation. For religion to him is life, and like life it finds expression in a sequence of changing emotions. Moreover, he takes every precaution that his children shall follow in his footsteps: he sends them to a *Cheder* or *Talmud Torah*, which they attend daily, and where they are taught the translation of the prayer book and of the Bible and its commentaries, where they are trained to cantillate the Pentateuch and the lessons from the Prophets, and are initiated into the laws of the *Shulchan Aruch*. He feels then assured that when he passes away his sons will honour his memory by reciting in the synagogue for eleven months after his death the prayer known as the *Kaddish*.

Such is the religious observance of the strictly orthodox Jew in Eastern Europe, as well as in many congregations of the West that are made up of natives of the East. The element of emotion plays an even greater part among the Chassidim in Russia, Galicia, and Hungary, for they believe that by violent excitation of the body they can enter into direct communion with God and influence Him, and hence in their prayer-houses they work themselves up into an ecstasy by shouting, singing, and vigorous gesticulation. They revere their leader, whom they call a *Zaddik* ("saint"), as one who has attained the most intimate communion with God and can mediate on their behalf. They believe that he can heal them of bodily ills, that he can cure the sterility of their wives, and predict the issue of their private undertakings, and hence they seek his advice on all important occasions, though they must pay for



THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES
FROM THE PAINTING BY LEOPOLD PICHOWSKI

it with a fee (*pidyon*), which forms for him a fruitful source of revenue. They attach a mystic power to all his sayings and doings, and even fight for a crumb that falls from his hand when they have the honour of being present at his Sabbath table. The dignity of the *Zaddik* has been made hereditary, and is borne by three different dynasties in Poland and Galicia, each of which has thousands of adherents; but the glory of Chassidism is bound to depart with the continuous emigration of the faithful.

The orthodoxy of the Western Jews differs in many respects from that of their Eastern brethren. Theoretically they also acknowledge the authority of the Oral Law, but in practice they mostly ignore it. They do not receive, nor do they let their children receive, a thorough grounding in Hebrew and the tenets of Judaism, which requires several hours a week, nor even instruction in Jewish history, owing to the more insistent claims of secular education, and as they are unfamiliar with the language of the synagogue they are not attracted to public worship. Their synagogues are more handsome and imposing than any that can be found among the congregations of Eastern pietists, and various concessions have been made to the spirit of modernity. The cantor is assisted by a choir of male and female voices; in some orthodox shrines there is even an organ, which is forbidden by the *Shulchan Aruch*; the university-educated Rabbi delivers a polished sermon every Sabbath morning; and there are occasional prayers in the vernacular. But despite these attractions half of the congregation do not come to the Sabbath service, for they are in their shops and offices, their warehouses and factories. Living in an economic world which does not hallow the seventh but the first day, they pursue their usual work on the day sacred to their fathers. Competition grows keener, the fight for existence more bitter; and as their faith has sunk to a low ebb they are unwilling or unable to make any sacrifice. Even those who need not work on the Sabbath, such as the rich, or teachers in Jewish schools, or authors and artists, are likewise mostly absent from the house of worship, for,

having received a modern education, they are impregnated with the scepticism and indifference of the age, whilst those who do attend display little fervour, and although they pray for the coming of the Messiah and the return to Zion, they do not believe in these hopes, or cannot understand the prayers they utter. And that those who shun the synagogue do not engage in private prayer nor observe the exacting prescriptions of the dietary laws, goes without saying. Some are still attracted by the historic appeal of the festival of freedom, the Passover, though its ritual observance is often difficult for those isolated in a Gentile environment; but it is only the New Year and the Day of Atonement, the first and last of the Ten Days of Penitence, that can throw a spell over those who are lax the whole year round. Then even all the synagogues crowded to their utmost cannot receive the hosts of penitents, and halls and schoolrooms galore must be requisitioned for the countless temporary congregations that rise into being. But even the dread solemnity of the Fast of Atonement has lost its thrill for a great and growing number of the children of Israel, who are being slowly absorbed by their environment. This decay of religious feeling has reached the farthest extreme in countries in which Jews enjoy to the full the blessings of liberty and education, and where there is a relatively small admixture of the immigrant element, such as Italy¹ and France; but religious indifference is spreading like an epidemic over Central Europe, England, and America.

This indifference is just as rampant among the adherents of Reform Judaism, despite all the measures that have been taken for making it easy to observe. The authority

¹ In an interesting article on the Jews in Italy (*Ost und West*, September 1912), Professor Loevinson, of Rome, enumerates a number of communities where religious indifference is so widespread that more than half are absent from the services on the New Year and the Day of Atonement. In Bologna, of 1600 Jews only 200 attend the synagogue on these solemn festivals. An inquiry conducted among 1850 Jewish communities in Germany in 1904 showed that the daily synagogue service was held only in 487 communities, whilst 1147 communities held divine service only on the Sabbath and 216 only on the high festivals (*Zeitschrift f. Demog. u. Stat. der Juden*, 1905, No. 9, p. 3).

of the Talmud and the *Shulchan Aruch* has been abrogated, the infallibility of the Torah has been overthrown, and the laws of Moses are read in the light of the Higher Criticism and subordinated to the ethical teaching of the Prophets. The Reform synagogue, especially as it has developed in the United States, knows no authority except itself, but it has not won the allegiance of the masses who find the *Shulchan Aruch* a yoke. It attaches more importance to creeds than to deeds, but it has revised the old creeds, and formulated new ones, without being able to record any revival of spirituality as a result. It proclaims that Israel is not in exile and undergoing punishment for past transgression, but that he has been dispersed to discharge a mission, to spread the principles of truth and justice and be a model of righteousness unto all the nations of the earth : a doctrine that stands in ironic contrast to the situation in Russia, where the Jews have been settled nearly two thousand years and shown greater fidelity than all their brethren to the teachings of their faith, but have not made the least impression upon the moral perversity of their inhuman rulers. The Reform movement has abolished the second days of festivals and disregards the dietary laws. It has emasculated Judaism of its national character and composed a new liturgy, which is free from references to a personal Messiah, the return to Zion, and the restoration of sacrifices. It has made the vernacular supersede Hebrew as the principal language of prayer ; it has introduced an organ and mixed choir as regular accompaniments of public worship ; it has abolished the *tallis* and *tephillin* for ordinary morning prayer and the *kittel* (white robe) on the Day of Atonement ; it allows divine worship to be conducted with uncovered head, and in certain "temples" it has abandoned the women's gallery in favour of family pews. So occidentalized has the Reform temple become that a visitor at first sight can hardly distinguish whether he is in a synagogue or a chapel, and yet with all its concessions to the modern spirit it fails to attract an adequate congregation on the Sabbath morning. Hence many temples have introduced supple-

mentary services on the Sunday morning, at which a lecture is given, whilst the Sinai congregation in Chicago and the Reform congregation in Berlin hold services only on Sunday. On the other hand, the so-called Reform synagogues in England hardly differ in many respects from certain Conservative houses of prayer on the Continent, the Liberal Synagogue founded by Mr. Claude Montefiore alone approximating in form and spirit to the temples of America.

That the Reform movement has failed to arrest the decay of religion in Jewry is a fact that will readily be admitted even by its leaders. It may be urged that it has simply given its sanction to what is actually the faith and observance of myriads of Jews in the orthodox camp, but in legalizing a series of departures from the traditional law it has given an impetus to further deflections, for in no congregation does the average member aspire to the ideal of a maximum of conformity. Orthodoxy, despite the difficulty of observing its countless array of laws and precepts, will continue to exercise a hold over the imagination of the Jew through its rich ceremonialism and symbolic ritual; whereas Reform, by abolishing many historic customs and minimizing the importance of others, by cutting Judaism adrift for ever from the land of its birth and denuding it of its national features, weakens the bond of racial consciousness, effaces the line of separation from other faiths, and facilitates the drift of its members from the Jewish pale either to the Christian Church or to the less exacting cults of Theism, Monism, or Ethical Culture, or, finally, to the easy-going world of free-thought.

Thus, religious observance is now on the decline throughout the greater part of Jewry. The decadence of religious feeling that characterizes the world in general has infected the communities of Israel that are everywhere a minority in the lands of their dispersion. Intellectual, social, and economic causes have all combined to shatter the age-old faith of the Jew and to sweep away the rites and customs that had been cherished so dearly through centuries of martyrdom. Now that the Jew could observe his religion in peace, it has ceased to appeal to him. The

acquisition of higher education, the results of the Higher Criticism, the teaching of science, the increasing intercourse with the Christian population, and the exacting demands of the economic struggle, all conspire to weaken his attachment to the traditions of his fathers. Not deliberately, not wilfully does he depart from the standard of piety in the Ghetto, but driven inexorably and inevitably, often against his will, and sometimes with a secret pang. Even those endowed with a thorough religious education, with an intimate knowledge of the Hebrew language and of Jewish history, have become estranged from the synagogue : how much more, then, those who have not enjoyed such advantages ? The Western communities have not yet solved the task of providing adequate religious instruction for the rapidly growing population. In London alone there are estimated to be 13,000 Jewish children without any religious education, and in New York the number exceeds 150,000.¹ This is partly the fault of the communal authorities, but it is in no small measure the result of the attitude of the parents themselves. Nothing but parental indifference can explain the fact that 9 per cent of the Jewish pupils in the high schools of Germany are receiving instruction in Christianity, that 14 to 15 per cent of the Jewish pupils in Berlin are attending lessons in the Protestant faith, and that in certain high schools in that city even a third of the Jews are being initiated into this faith.² This picture of the early estrangement of Jews from their faith can be paralleled in many other large centres in Europe and America. The Jewish child thus becomes more familiar with Christmas than with Chanukah, the festival of the Maccabees that often synchronizes with it, and parents frequently go the length of introducing the Christmas tree into the home, with all the conventional customs attaching to it. The Christmas tree is defended by those who adopt it as being free from any positive religious

¹ " Jewish Educational Disorganization in London," by N. Bentwich, in the *Jewish Review*, November 1912.

² Dr. Felix Theilhaber, *Der Untergang der deutschen Juden* (Berlin, 1911), p. 96.

import, but it undeniably signifies a negative attitude to Jewish tradition : it is a symbol of estrangement from the ancient faith. Thus, slowly and subtly, the bonds of Judaism are being dissolved throughout the Western lands, a process that is but feebly checked by the influx of pious immigrants from the East ; for these too, intoxicated by the spirit of liberty and absorbed in the battle of life, are likewise seduced from the path of their forefathers, whilst their children, especially in England and America, are even more rapidly assimilated to the predominant national type.

CHAPTER III

DRIFT AND APOSTASY

The principal causes of desertion—Early apostasy in England, Prussia, and Russia—Missionary agencies—Statistics of baptisms—Fluctuations in the history of conversion—Recent defections in Austria, in Hungary, and in Germany—Record apostasy in Russia—The growth of intermarriage—Its prevalence in Austria, Hungary, and Holland—Intermarriages in Germany and Denmark ; in England, America, and Australia—The children of mixed marriages

THE drift from Judaism that is now going on throughout the world is one of the most disquieting features of Jewish life. A certain amount of desertion has from the very beginning always attended the dispersion, but until the end of the eighteenth century it was comparatively small in extent and limited in locality. It was the toll that had to be paid by Jewry to Christendom for existing in its midst, and it was exacted by State and Church alike. The principle of the mediæval State was that all its subjects should worship in the State Church, and the method of forcible persuasion that was adopted towards all dissenters was applied with the severest rigour towards the Jews, who were forced to listen to Christian sermons and to public disputations on the Torah and the Talmud. The Crusades and the Inquisition were the two most successful—because most violent—instruments of conversion, though the formal acceptance of Christianity did not prevent the Jews in Spain, and even in other countries, from adhering to their religion and observing its rites in secret. The hypocrisy thus engendered by the mediæval State was the chief weapon for defeating the intolerance which it practised. But so stubbornly did the Jewish people cling to their faith that all the devices of persecution—social degradation, economic boycott,

ruinous fines, imprisonment, torture, exile—failed to “save” aught but a relatively small number of souls. In modern times, however, the desertion of Judaism has been mostly voluntary in character and far more extensive in its incidence. Not that the Jews recognize any religious superiority on the part of Christianity. Their desertion partakes of two forms: either they leave the Synagogue because they have little sympathy with it, without joining the Church, for which they have even less sympathy; or they join the Church because it relieves them of social and political disabilities. Those who surrender the faith of their forefathers without adopting any other in its place are mostly to be found in the lands of freedom, in Western Europe and America, though cases of Jewish baptism in these regions are also very plentiful; but in the lands of bondage or semi-bondage, in Central and Eastern Europe, the normal feature of religious desertion is secession to Christianity. In the countries where complete political equality prevails, without any religious discrimination, such as England, France, and America, there is no extraneous motive to join the Church, and the majority of the Jews who drift through its doors enter it to contract a wealthy marriage. But in Germany and Austria, where the profession of Judaism is still a disqualification for public office, as well as in Russia and Rumania, where the Jews are degraded to the level of second-class citizens or pariahs, those who secede to the Church do so to ensure their worldly advancement. Instances of conversion for conscience’ sake may perhaps occur, for even Jewry has its mystics; but they are difficult to prove, as the acceptance of baptism is invariably accompanied by a material advantage. Hence the motives that actuate the great bulk of apostates—the deliverance from civil disabilities or the furtherance of their career—are substantially the same to-day as those that prevailed in the Middle Ages. The main difference is that formerly they were impressed upon the Jew by means of the sword or the stake; now they operate automatically. Another difference is that formerly the only acceptable conversion in all countries

was that which bore the Jew into the established Church. This principle still prevails in Russia, where only those who espouse the orthodox Greek faith are looked upon with favour; but in Germany and Austria the Government does not trouble itself whether the Jewish renegade seeks covert under the Protestant or the Catholic wing of the Church, so long as he acknowledges Christianity, which in political practice is ignored by Christendom itself.

The first notable tendency toward apostasy in modern times manifested itself under the immediate influence of the social and intellectual emancipation which the Jews of Western Europe began to enjoy towards the close of the eighteenth century. The acquisition of secular learning and increasing intercourse with their Christian neighbours made a number of Jews of the wealthier class lose sympathy with the Synagogue, whose forms and ceremonies they began to regard with a critical eye. Behind the walls of the Ghetto they had observed all the rites of their faith with undisturbed tranquillity of soul, and were even strengthened in their devotion by the hostility of the outside world. But the freedom that gradually dawned upon them lured them away from the communal fold and enkindled in them the ambition to shine in the larger world around them. The sun of liberty dissolved the ties of faith much more readily than the fires of the Inquisition. The first general defection took place in England, where, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, a number of prominent Jewish families of the Sephardic community, actuated more by social ambition than by theological scruples, transferred their allegiance to the Church. They included such names as Bernal, Furtado, Lopez, Ximenes, and Uzzielli, to which, a little later, those of Ricardo and Disraeli were added—all families that were soon merged into the British aristocracy. But a far more serious outbreak of apostasy was that which occurred in Prussia. Here the movement was all the more striking as it developed under the immediate influence of the teaching of Moses Mendelssohn, who had sought to confer upon his fellow-Jews the blessings of

secular culture while preaching to them steadfastness of faith. His generation accepted the blessings of culture, but their faith was shattered, and his own children were among the first who headed the march to the baptismal font. Dissatisfaction with the ritual of the Synagogue and with the multifold ceremonies in the home was only a subsidiary motive in their desertion: the prime motive was worldly ambition. Hence it is that the epidemic of apostasy attacked only the wealthier and more intellectual Jews, those who had something to gain by joining the Church, a Government appointment or access to aristocratic circles. Thirty years after the death of Moses Mendelssohn, Rahel Levin wrote to her brother that half of the Berlin community was baptized. This statement was numerically inaccurate, as of the 3610 Jews who lived in Berlin in 1819 only 1236 became Christians within the next four years, but the proportion was grave enough to justify the slight exaggeration. From 1822 to 1840 there was an average of 122 Jewish converts a year, and they included nearly every Jew who attained any fame in Prussia in that period. Scholars who wished to advance in their career without sacrificing their conscience found themselves forced into exile, and thus Munk, Dernburg, and Oppert migrated to France, and Zedner, Neubauer, and Deutsch to England. The secessions in Prussia were encouraged by the State and welcomed by the King. Not only were the Jews excluded from all public positions, denied all civil and political rights, and subjected to special humiliations, but even when they attempted to reform the Synagogue service in the hope of stemming the tide of apostasy, they were hindered by the Government, which forbade the use in the synagogue of the German language and the wearing of the *talar* ("minister's gown"). The joy in the royal household at the desertions from Judaism was shown by the fact that Frederick William III rewarded every apostate with a bonus of ten ducats, whilst Frederick William IV presented a gift to every converted Jewess on her marriage. The premium thus directly placed upon apostasy is continued in another

form by the German Government to the present day, for no Jew can aspire to a position in the civil service, or to an ordinary professorship in a university, or even to a commission in the army: only the waters of baptism can wash his blemish away. Many Jews have adopted Christianity under the impression that only thus could they become perfect Germans, in accordance with the irrational doctrine propounded by the historians Mommsen, Treitschke, and Paulsen. In Russia, throughout the nineteenth century, as at present, the forces working in favour of apostasy were much more powerful than in any other country, as the disabilities and humiliations, apart from physical persecution, to which they were subjected, were far more numerous and oppressive. Upon his accession Nicholas I (1825-55) ordered all Jews who were in the Government service to become baptized or to leave their positions; and as his zealous endeavours to win over adult Jews to Christianity met with little success he had boys from eight years of age torn from their homes at midnight by the police and drafted into the "cantonist" schools, where they were prepared for military service and forced or wheedled into Christianity as part of their training. In Russia to-day, as in Prussia a century ago, every baptized Jew or Jewess receives a premium of thirty shillings and more, and every baptized child half that amount; and if a Jewish wife refuses to follow her husband into the Church their marriage is declared void, but whilst the husband can marry again and need not support his forsaken wife, the latter is doomed to remain a grass widow all her life.

The State is only passive in the promotion of Jewish apostasy; it is the Church, through a network of missionary societies, that actively and systematically fosters it. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century the efforts of missionaries to convert the Jews were carried on only sporadically, but since the establishment in 1809 of the London Society for the Propagation of Christianity amongst the Jews missionary societies have sprung up in all parts of the world. There are now 112 Protestant missionary

societies, employing 816 missionary workers—mostly converted Jews—at 229 stations.¹ This army of missionaries is distributed throughout the globe, in the New World as in the Old, in modern communities such as London and Paris, Berlin and New York, as well as in semi-civilized countries like Persia and Abyssinia, Syria and Morocco, all labouring with zeal, energy, and cunning to undermine the faith of impoverished and weak-kneed Jews. Their methods are manifold : they distribute New Testaments and tracts in all languages, including Hebrew and Yiddish ; they preach in mission-halls and in the open-air ; they give limelight lectures to attract unsuspecting children, who are presented with sweets to come again ; they maintain reading-rooms to entice the Jewish workmen at night ; they conduct “ homes of industry,” where unemployed Jews are trained in printing, bookbinding, and carpentry, and simultaneously initiated into the gospel. They also maintain hospitals and dispensaries to which poor Jews resort in their distress, and where their souls are doctored equally with their bodies ; they conduct mission schools in a number of cities in the Orient, where Jewish children are taught not merely reading and arithmetic but the Christian catechism ; and they meet hapless emigrants from Eastern Europe at Hamburg and Rotterdam, Hull and Liverpool, and accompany them on steamers and trains, expounding the mysteries of the Trinity on the way and exploiting the distress of their listeners. This world-wide campaign of soul-hunting is prosecuted solely among the poor, who are expected to fall a prey more readily to the dangling bait ; the rich Jews are left alone, not because their souls are not thought worth “ saving,” but because the missionaries have no access to them and can hold out to them no material inducement. The cost of this work of “ salvation ” is enormous. Between the years 1863 and 1894 the London Society spent from £600 to £3000 upon the conversion of a single Jew ;² and in 1898 it spent £28,439 upon the baptism of 28 Jews.³ The

¹ *Missions to Jews*, by the late Rev. W. T. Gidney, M.A. (London, 1912).

² *Jewish Encyclopædia*, vol. iv. p. 252.

³ *Judentaufen im 19 Jahrhundert*, von Dr. N. Samter (Berlin, 1906), p. 64.

total expenditure of the 112 societies is not known, but as the annual income of the London Society alone is now over £60,000, we may assume, even at a moderate estimate, that the aggregate expenditure verges upon a million sterling per annum. That the result is utterly incommensurate with the outlay must be obvious to anybody who studies the reports of these societies. It was a recognition of this fact that made the Evangelical Lutheran Central Society for the Mission in Israel, at a conference in 1890 at Hanover, resolve not to dispatch any more missionaries in Germany "as mostly only Jewish vagabonds, the scum and outcasts of the people, become baptized."¹ Even a professional missionary, the German pastor De le Roi, declared: "Never has a Jew become baptized through conviction,"² and Luther himself characteristically observed: "It is just as possible to convert the Jews as to convert the devil." The net result of this conversionist activity, which is mainly financed by pious spinsters and blessed by the highest dignitaries of the Church, is that it sows dissension between parents and children, that it saps the moral fibre of the poor, and turns bad Jews into worse Christians. What a world of good could be accomplished if the million sterling were devoted to the suppressing of pauperism and the fighting of crime!

Let us now examine the number of Jews that have been lost through apostasy in modern times. According to the German pastor, J. de le Roi,³ who has made a careful investigation of the subject, the total number of Jewish baptisms throughout the world in the nineteenth century amounted to 204,542. The table on the next page shows the number contributed by each country and by each of the three principal Churches.

To this total De le Roi adds 19,460 baptisms of the children of mixed marriages, so that the grand total of Jewish defections to Christianity last century amounted

¹ *Saat auf Hoffnung*, 1891, p. 71.

² *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, 1893, p. 317.

³ *Judentaufen im 19 Jahrhundert*, von Lic. Joh. de le Roi (Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899).

(in round figures) to 224,000. In all probability the total was even higher, as De le Roi in every case adopted a low estimate, and Dalman puts the figure at 250,000. The conversions in the course of the century underwent a certain fluctuation in response to the change of political conditions: they reached their lowest level in the sixth and seventh decades, when political emancipation was granted to most of the Jewish communities, and steadily began to rise after

JEWISH BAPTISMS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

	Pro- testant Church.	Roman Catholic Church.	Greek Church.	Total.
United Kingdom	28,830 ¹	..	..	28,830
Germany.	17,520	5,000	..	22,520
Holland	1,800	..	..	1,800
Norway and Sweden. . .	500	..	..	500
Denmark	100	..	..	100
Switzerland	100	..	..	100
France	600	1,800	..	2,400
Austria	6,300	28,200	} 200	44,756
Hungary	2,056	8,000		
Russia	3,136	12,000	69,400	84,536
Rumania	..	..	1,500	1,500
Turkey	..	..	3,300	3,300
Greece, Bulgaria, Servia .	..	..	100	100
Italy	..	300	..	300
Asia and Africa	100	500	..	600
Australia	200	..	..	200
North America	11,500	1,500*	..	13,000
Total	72,742	57,300	74,500	204,542

the eighties, partly as a result of the growth of Anti-Semitism and partly because of the increased activity of the missionaries. In Russia they reached the highest figure, 4439, in the year 1854; they then declined to 352 in 1863; but under Alexander III they again increased to 1420 in 1893. Germany witnessed two main periods of apostasy,

¹ Includes 5330 conversions made by British missions abroad.

* Includes conversions to the Catholic Church in Holland and Switzerland.

the first from 1822 to 1840, when there was an average of 122 converts a year, and the second, with the rise of Anti-Semitism, from 1880, reaching the highest figure, 348, in 1888. Most remarkable are the number of defections in the United Kingdom: the total, 23,500, in proportion to the Jewish population of the country, represents a ratio of apostasy six times larger than that in Germany,¹ which is usually regarded as the classic land of Jewish baptisms. The Church that has relatively been most successful in enriching itself at the expense of Jewry is the Protestant Church, considering that the number of Jews in purely Protestant countries form only a small minority, and its success is doubtless due to the energy of the missionary societies.

The defections from Judaism have continued with even greater intensity since the beginning of the twentieth century, partly in the direct form of baptism and partly through intermarriage. Their increase is particularly noteworthy in the great Jewish centres of Vienna and Berlin, where even the regular publication in a Jewish newspaper of the names of the renegades hardly acts as a deterrent. The number of Jewish defections in all the provinces of Austria is computed at 840-900 per annum, which is equivalent to one in every 1360-1480 Jews.² In Galicia, outside Lemberg and Cracow, there are very few cases of baptism, and in all they do not exceed 80 per annum, which corresponds to one per 10,000; whilst a similar condition prevails in Bukovina. The principal hotbed of apostasy in Austria is Vienna, where in 1868-79 there were 50 baptisms per annum, equal to one among 1200 Jews; in 1880-89, 220 baptisms per annum, equal to one among 420-430 Jews; and in 1890-1903, 455 per annum, equal to one among 260-270 Jews.

¹ De le Roi, p. 22.

² Dr. J. Thon, *Die Juden in Oesterreich*, pp. 69-80. In Austria-Hungary and Germany those who secede from Judaism must report their secession to a civil authority, and hence official statistics of such secessions are available. Children under seven years of age are included in their parents' conversion, but are not registered; those above fourteen are registered separately; whilst children between these ages remain in the old faith until they reach the latter age.

But in the five years 1906-10, when there were 2818 defections (1512 males and 1306 females),¹ although the average rose to 563 per annum, it amounted, owing to the increase of the population, to one defection among 293-294 Jews, which seems to point to a slight slackening of apostasy. As for the absolute figures they declined from 639 in 1903 to 512 in 1910, rising again to 627 in 1911. An interesting feature of the defections in Vienna is that a good proportion consists of those who do not join the Church but declare themselves free-thinkers, an act that is invested with less moral turpitude in the eyes of the Jewish community, and which is generally committed to pave the way to a mixed marriage, as marriages between Jews and Christians are forbidden in Austria. In 1886-1903 one-fifth of the Jews in Vienna who deserted the Pale declared themselves *confessionslos*. It is furthermore interesting to note that in the period 1906-10 there were 435 proselytes to Judaism, comprising 335 women and 100 men, caused by marriages with persons of the Jewish faith; but these can hardly be regarded as a compensation for communal losses, as the offspring of such marriages invariably, sooner or later, drift away. The proselytes generally comprise three times as many women as men, owing to marriages between Christian women and Jews being much more frequent than between Christians and Jewesses. Another significant phenomenon is that in the two years 1910-11, 378 converted Jews returned to the fold.²

In Hungary the number of defections in the years 1895-1911 was 6915,³ an average of 406 per annum, corresponding to one among 2260 Jews. Here, too, the actual figures must be higher, as the official record includes only those who made personal declarations of withdrawal from Judaism, and, as in Austria, does not include children under seven years of age. The defections rose from 169 in 1897 to 486 in 1901, and again to 512 in 1910, declining to 473 in 1911. In Budapest alone there were 1539 cases of apostasy in 1896-1904, an average of 171 per annum, corresponding

¹ *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1912, p. 131.

² *Die Welt*, 1912, p. 1486.

³ *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 80.

to one among 1088 Jews. In the whole of Hungary there were 106 proselytes against 510 defections in 1908, and 124 proselytes against 512 defections in 1910. In Croatia-Slavonia there were 285 defections in 1898-1910.¹ In Germany, too, there has been an increase of conversions. In the ten years 1884-93 there were 3544 baptisms, an average of 354 per annum, whilst in 1894-1903 there were 4807, an average of 480 per annum. The highest proportion is contributed by Berlin, where in 1897-1900 there were 383 defections, an average of 95 per annum; in 1901-04 a total of 513, with an average of 128 per annum; and in 1905-08 an increase to 648, with an increased average of 162 per annum. This last average corresponds to one defection among every 620 Jews, a condition that is much worse than that in Budapest, but only half as bad as in Vienna. Statistics of recent secessions in other countries are not available.

The signs of the times point to an increasing drift from Judaism. The depreciation of religion in general makes the change of one creed for another an easy process, as it is not judged by the world so severely as in a previous generation: it is often regarded as of no greater significance than a transference of State allegiance, and the average Jewish renegade receives his baptismal certificate almost with the same ease of conscience as he would a letter of naturalization. The all-compelling motive is the desire for equality of opportunity in the competition of life, and hence thousands of Jewish parents of the middle and upper classes in Germany, who hesitate to secede themselves, as they can no longer benefit by the act, do not scruple to have their children baptized in infancy, so as to secure for them an uninterrupted path for their later career. The severest ravages caused by apostasy are now taking place in Russia, where the Jews, rendered desperate by the pogroms and disappointed by the abortive Revolution, are deserting their faith in thousands. The present epidemic is almost unprecedented in the history of Russian Jewry: more conversions are said to have occurred

¹ *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1912, p. 167.

during the last two years than during the previous twenty years.¹ The class that is particularly affected consists of those engaged in liberal professions and those who wish to enter them : as the universities are closed to all but a very trifling number the only sure method of securing admission is to present a baptismal certificate, and hence on the eve of every academic session there are wholesale baptisms of Jewish students. In Odessa, a little while ago, a society was formed by forty Jewish students to discuss what religion they should adopt and to deliberate upon measures of self-protection from the effects of their apostasy. Measures of self-protection, however, are scarcely necessary, for an attitude of tolerance, almost of indulgence, has been adopted within the community towards those who betray it. This is the most disquieting feature of the whole movement, and it has prompted the issue of a dignified manifesto, written by the historian Dubnow, which protests against the continuance of social relations with renegades, and warns the community of the demoralization that is otherwise bound to ensue. "Strain every effort to put a check to the plague of conversion. But when conversion has taken place, observe the command of the Sanctity of the Host of Israel, and draw a boundary line between those who fight for the nation and those who have betrayed it."²

But a far more sinister and dangerous foe than conversion is intermarriage, the inevitable outcome of social intercourse between Jews and Christians. Until about the middle of last century marriages between Jews and Christians in which both parties adhered to their parental religion were comparatively rare, as they were forbidden not only by the Synagogue and the Church, but also by the Governments of the countries in which the great bulk of Jews were settled. They first developed to notable proportions in France, under the benign influence of political emancipa-

¹ This is the opinion of Dr. A. Coralnik, the Berlin correspondent of the *Kiev Retsch*. Mr. Reuben Brainin, the eminent Hebrew author, told me that he considered even this estimate too low.

² *The Zionist*, October 1913, p. 72.

tion, and were looked upon with favour by Napoleon, who submitted a question on the legality of such unions from the point of view of Jewish law to the Paris Sanhedrin of 1806. The reply of the Sanhedrin was evasive, as it simply stated: "Marriages between Israelites and Christians when concluded in accordance with the civil code are valid, and though they cannot be solemnized by the religious rites of Judaism, they should not be subject to the ban."¹ This pronouncement almost amounted to an acquiescence in mixed marriages, and perhaps accounted for the large number of unions between Jews and Christians in the succeeding decades, in which the impoverished aristocracy of France replenished its coffers and redeemed its estates with Jewish dowries. A similar tendency towards alliances between the Christian nobility and the daughters of Israel manifested itself in other countries of Europe, including England, and there is now an extensive and brilliant array of titled families, many of them with very ancient pedigrees and allied to royal houses, that have been infused with Jewish blood.² The marriage-bond has been warmly advocated by statesmen and philosophers as the most effective method of reconciling Jewry and Christendom, and redeeming Israel at length from all its troubles. Bismarck's approval of intermarriage was qualified by the restriction that only "a Christian stallion should be mated to a Jewish mare,"³ and he is said not to have been at all opposed to one of his sons marrying a Jewess. But whether an increase of mixed marriages would put an end to Anti-Semitism is very doubtful, as such unions have produced some of the bitterest foes of Israel. Intermarriage could put an end to Anti-Semitism only by first putting an end to Jewry itself.

The degree of the prevalence of intermarriage in various countries directly corresponds with the degree of religious indifference: those who never eat at a Christian table are never likely to be united for life to a Christian; but it also

¹ Graetz, *History of the Jews*, vol. v. p. 529.

² An imposing list is given by Dr. N. Samter, *Judentaufen*, pp. 87-93.

³ M. Busch, *Graf Bismarck und seine Leute* (Leipzig, 1878), vol. ii. p.

depends in a large measure upon the material prosperity of the Jews and the degree of their social intercourse with their neighbours. Hence, in the regions marked by poverty and by attachment to traditional Judaism, such as Eastern Europe and the Orient, mixed marriages are almost unknown. In Galicia there were only six cases in the years 1900-03, whilst in Bukovina there was not even one in that period. Similarly in Rumania mixed marriages formed only 1.11 per cent of the purely Jewish marriages in 1896-99, though the percentage in Bucharest in 1904-05 was 3.52.¹ Mixed marriages are still forbidden in Catholic countries, whether subject to the Roman or the Greek Church, as well as in all Moslem countries, and hence they are unknown in Russia, Austria, Spain, and Portugal, and wherever the rule of Islam prevails. In Austria the only mixed marriages permitted and recorded are those between Jews and persons of no religion or free-thinkers, although unions between Christians and free-thinkers, which are not recorded, may just as well be mixed Jewish marriages. The proportion of mixed to purely Jewish marriages thus seems very low: between 1881 and 1909 the mixed marriages increased from 51 to 216, and the pure marriages from 3287 to 9474, the proportion of mixed marriages rising from 1.58 to 2.2 per cent.² A somewhat higher percentage, 2.96,³ is shown by Bohemia, owing to the liberalism of the new generation in Prague, and by Trieste, which is culturally under the influence of Italy; whilst a considerably higher percentage, 11.1, is shown by Vienna (1904-07), the hotbed of apostasy. But if we bear in mind the enormous number of secessions that take place annually in Austria we shall have a truer picture of the extent of inter-marriage. Hungary, which has a lower record of conversion, has a higher record of mixed marriages, which have been allowed there since 1895. In 1895-99 there was an average of 372 mixed marriages and 6694 purely Jewish

¹ *Die Juden in Rumänien* (Berlin, 1908), p. 19.

² *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1912, p. 135.

³ This was the percentage for 1900-03: it has probably since increased.

marriages per annum, a percentage of 5·56; but by the year 1911 the numbers rose to 786 and 7361 respectively, showing more than double this initial percentage, viz. 11·37.¹ As in the case of Austria, the largest proportion of mixed marriages is provided by the capital, Budapest, where in 1901-04 they formed 16·5 per cent of the purely Jewish marriages (211 against 1275). A somewhat lower record is presented by Amsterdam (which contains three-fifths of the Jews in Holland), where in the period 1904-12 the percentage rose from 12 to 13.²

A considerable ascent in the scale of exogamy is provided by Germany, where mixed marriages have been allowed since 1875. In 1901 there were 658 such unions to 3873 purely Jewish marriages, but in 1910 the mixed marriages had increased to 1003, whilst the unmixed marriages stood at 3880: the increased proportion of intermarriages being represented by a rise from 16·97 to 25·85 per cent.³ In other words, one-fourth of the Jews in Germany now marry Christians. In Prussia the proportion is even higher: between 1875 and 1911 it actually trebled, rising from 10·1 to 29·48 per cent, though in Catholic Bavaria it is only 9·6 per cent. The proportion of mixed marriages in Frankfort-on-the-Maine is 29 per cent,⁴ whilst in Berlin it is as much as 43·8 per cent, and in Hamburg even higher still, 49·5 per cent. But even these abnormally high figures are far transcended by Copenhagen, which contains four-fifths of the Jews of Denmark. In this city, in the period 1880-89, the proportion of mixed marriages was 55·8 per cent, and in 1900-05 as high as 82-89 per cent; whilst in Sweden, according to Dr. Samter, more mixed marriages occur than purely Jewish marriages.⁵ The only other European country for which figures are available is Italy, where in the province of Rovigo, in 1881, the mixed marriages formed 34·1 per cent of the unmixed

¹ *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1913, p. 119.

² *Ibid.*, 1913, pp. 14-15 and 152.

³ *Ibid.*, 1912, p. 166; 1913, p. 44.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 15.

⁵ *Judentaufen*, p. 82.

marriages,¹ but in all probability the percentage for the whole of Italy at present is much higher. There are no statistics available for England and America, where mixed marriages are by no means an unknown phenomenon; they are steadily on the increase among the upper middle and rich classes, but rather infrequent among the East European Jews in London, New York, and other large cities. The advanced religious liberalism in the United States makes that country a fertile soil for intermarriages, especially as certain Reform Rabbis are willing to solemnize them: they are estimated at 5 per cent in the northern and about 33 per cent in the southern states.² The only English-speaking region of which statistics are available is Australia, where, according to the census of 1911, the proportion of mixed marriages was 20·4 per cent,³ which is lower on the scale than the record of Germany. Owing to a recent revival of religious and communal life, there has been a notable diminution during the last decade in the proportion of mixed marriages in Australia, where in 1901 they amounted to 46·1 per cent.

The widespread prevalence of intermarriage constitutes a grave and growing loss to Jewry, as only a small percentage of the offspring of mixed unions is permanently retained within the fold. Whether Judeo-Christian marriages are as fertile as purely Jewish marriages is a question that has not yet been definitely solved. Dr. Fishberg states⁴ that Dr. Ruppin "showed conclusively" that there is no real basis for asserting that mixed marriages are less fertile than pure ones, but Dr. Ruppin, in his latest utterance, is not so positive on this point. On the contrary, he says: "It is to a certain degree probable that infertility is more frequent in mixed than in pure marriages," and he quotes the Prussian statistics for 1905 which show that 37·91 per cent of the existing mixed marriages were childless.⁵ Even Dr. Fishberg quotes the New South Wales

¹ Dr. F. Theilhaber, *Der Untergang der deutschen Juden*, p. 108.

² Dr. M. Fishberg, *The Jews*, p. 203.

³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 14th March 1913.

⁴ *The Jews*, p. 210.

⁵ Dr. Ruppin, *Die Juden der Gegenwart*, p. 172.

Census of 1901, which shows that while the average number of children per family of the general population was 3·48, and the average number in a purely Jewish family 4·06, the average in a Judeo-Christian family was 2·01. It is impossible to determine with exactness the relative fecundity of pure and mixed marriages until an investigation is made into the number of children of the existing pure and mixed marriages in a particular country born within a given period after marriage. What is certain, however, is that there is a gradual decline in the number of births from purely Jewish marriages and a parallel increase in the number of births from mixed marriages, so that the children of intermarriages form a steadily growing proportion of Jewish posterity. In Prussia this proportion rose from 3·48 to 12·03 per cent, and in Bavaria from 0·83 to 6·9 per cent, in the period 1875-1908; in Hungary it increased from 0·97 to 1·87 per cent in 1897-1906; in Holland it was 4·8 and in Copenhagen 47·2 per cent in 1906.¹ And, what is most significant of all, the percentage of children of mixed marriages who definitely remain within the Jewish pale is gradually decreasing. In Prussia the percentage declined from 25·48 to 22·67 between 1890 and 1905; in Hungary the percentage for 1896-1906 was only 14·04; and in Copenhagen, in 1906, it was 16·5. Moreover, these figures relate to the children who are still under the parental roof, but a considerable discount must be made when we remember that such children have a strong temptation to desert the Jewish fold; as they already have Christian relatives and the Jewish influences at home are weak their secession to Christendom when they grow up is almost natural. We can therefore agree with Dr. Ruppin that perhaps not more than a tenth of the offspring of mixed marriages is kept within the Jewish community.

Religious indifference, secession, baptism, intermarriage—such are the various ways in which Jewry is being reft of its children year by year and in which its strength is likely to be sapped even in greater measure in the years to come.

¹ Dr. Ruppin, *Die Juden der Gegenwart*, p. 170 seq.

BOOK VII
THE NATIONAL ASPECT
INTRODUCTION

The Jewish question *par excellence*

WE have now surveyed the life and labour of modern Jewry from every important angle of vision. We have studied its social conditions, customs, and institutions. We have examined its varied status of freedom or bondage in the political world, and noted the services it has rendered in such generous measure to contemporary States. We have investigated its distribution and activity in the different departments of the economic sphere, its ceaseless wanderings, and its inordinate share of poverty. We have surveyed its work in the intellectual world, its vigorous participation in advanced education, its cultural products of a national character, and its manifold services to the culture and progress of humanity. And lastly, we have passed under review its religious conditions and tendencies, the contrasts of faith and observance that manifest themselves, the general decline of traditional piety, and the increasing growth of apostasy and intermarriage. We have now to inquire into the general drift of all the currents and tendencies that we have observed in this sequence of surveys, to see whether the prospects of the Jewish people as a whole—as a people and not as a multitude of scattered individuals—are good or bad : in short, to estimate what is to be the future, the destiny of the Jewish people. It is this question that is the Jewish Question *par excellence*. Every country with a large

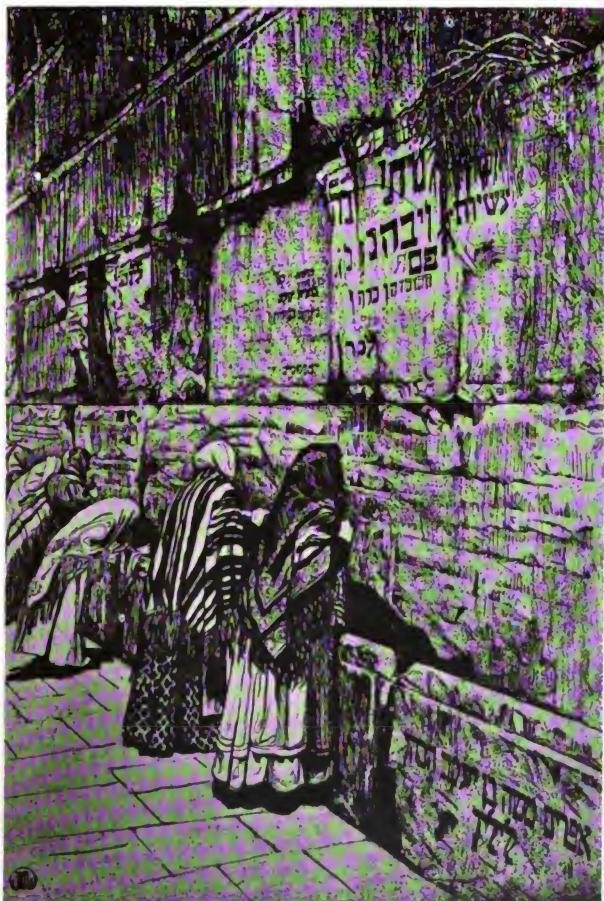
Jewish population has, it is true, its own Jewish question : in Russia and Rumania it is the denial of civil equality, in Germany and Austria-Hungary it is the prevalence of Anti-Semitism, in England and America it is the restriction of alien immigration and of Sunday labour. In each of these countries the Jews are mostly concerned with their own local question. But above and beyond all these local questions is the great question of the future of Jewry of which the other questions are merely parts. Is Jewry destined to grow in number and strength ; or has it already, like many other nations in ancient times, attained the height of its development, and is it now doomed to dwindle slowly but surely to a position of insignificance ? What is the strength of the forces that are making for its dissolution, what the strength of the forces of conservation, and on which side lies the balance ? And if the balance lies on the side of the forces of dissolution, what effective measure can be adopted to counteract them and so ensure for the Jewish people a prolongation of life ?

CHAPTER I

ASSIMILATION OR CONSERVATION

The conserving influence of the Ghetto—The disintegrating effect of intellectual emancipation, and of social and political emancipation—Assimilation in Eastern Jewry—Anti-Semitism as a conserving force—The inherent conserving force of communal organization—The Russo-Jewish factor—The relative importance of religion and territory—Nation or religious community—The economic condition of national existence—The intellectual condition: language and education—The physical condition: compact concentration—The land question: territorialism—The Zionist solution

THE Jewish people has occupied the stage of history for such a considerable span of time that any suggestion of the possibility of its extinction may perhaps be spurned as unthinkable. A nation that has survived exile nearly two thousand years, that has passed through endless crises and perils, endured countless persecutions, expulsions, and massacres, and that to-day, scattered over the face of the whole world, is more numerous than at any previous period in its annals and flourishes in a multitude of populous communities in every continent—that such a nation should now show signs of decay and dissolution, may perhaps be regarded as the view of a purblind pessimist or the fancy of a paradox-monger. But it is neither. A dispassionate and comprehensive survey of Jewish life at the present day shows that its conditions and tendencies are utterly different from those that prevailed until the spread of emancipation, and that their resultant effect militates against its survival. Cooped up as the Jews were in former ages in Ghettos, isolated from the rest of the population not only locally and socially, but also economically and intellectually, they



THE WAILING WALL IN JERUSALEM

FROM AN ETCHING BY EPHRAIM M. LILIE

led a life of their own, self-contained if not always self-contented, in which they cultivated their traditional ideals and customs and fostered and developed their cultural possessions. Although they had no land of their own they made their Ghetto a little Zion, pending the call of the Messiah whom they were willing at any moment to follow to the historic Zion ; although they no longer spoke the national language of their forefathers they prayed in it daily and understood it, and they had a peculiar language of their own in many lands, Judeo-German, Judeo-Spanish, or Judeo-Arabic ; although they no longer dwelt on the banks of the Jordan or at the foot of Mount Carmel their lives were coloured by customs and visions of the Holy Land, and all their sufferings were soothed by the thought that they would one day be gathered again to the land of their ancestors. Living as they did in the midst of all the nations, and exposed on every side to obloquy and hostility, they nevertheless had the surest guarantee of survival, for they lived a life of their own and were sustained by the hope of a national restoration.

But since the dawn of emancipation a change has come over the face of Jewry : it has been slowly giving up its own life and adopting the life of its Christian neighbours. The change began long before the spread of political emancipation : it began with the intellectual emancipation that started upon its course at the end of the eighteenth century, when the Jews exchanged their own tongue for the language of their country, when they abandoned their exclusive devotion to a religious education and acquired all branches of secular learning, and when they extended their intellectual horizon by studying the philosophy and literature of other nations. One of the motives that impelled them along this course was the desire to show themselves worthy of civil equality, for the burdens and humiliations to which they were subjected, particularly on the Continent, did not become pleasanter even after long acquaintance. And with the acquisition of civil rights, given in no country willingly, but fought for everywhere stubbornly and secured only in instalments, a further impetus was given to the

quest of higher education, for gradually the universities were thrown open to Jewish students, and, with their traditional passion for learning, Jews were not slow to avail themselves of the welcome opportunity. The effect of the acquisition of modern education has been elevating and fructifying so far as individual Jews are concerned, for they have distinguished themselves in a constantly growing measure in every department of scholarship and science and have rendered important and lasting contributions to the culture and progress of humanity. But the effect upon Jewry as a people has been disintegrating, for intellectual enlightenment has dissolved the bond of faith and dispelled the customs and ideals of tradition. It has undermined the allegiance of the Jew both to the Oral and the Written Law, weakened his observance of the Sabbath and of the cycle of feasts and fasts, estranged him from the synagogue, made him neglectful and forgetful of his national tongue, and drawn him with ever more irresistible attraction to the world of thought around him. Such an effect was inevitable, for when the Jew is taught in a Gentile school and fed upon Gentile literature ; when he receives all his edification and inspiration from Gentile sources—books, newspapers, pictures, plays, operas, and the thousand and one social, intellectual, and political movements of the day—not because he deliberately chooses them, but because he has no choice at all in his environment, it is but natural that his spirit should undergo a transformation and become assimilated to the spirit of the nation in whose midst he dwells.

Education alone, however, would not have produced assimilation to any wide extent ; this effect would have been confined almost wholly to the richer class. But the intellectual emancipation was soon followed by social emancipation, by free intercourse between Jews and Gentiles in society and in commerce ; and by the middle of the nineteenth century almost the whole of Western Jewry were endowed with civil and political equality. All the artificial barriers that had hitherto divided Jew from Gentile were thus overthrown and removed, and there began a movement of fraternization, to atone, as it were,

for the hostility of centuries. All avenues became open to Jewish enterprise and ambition, all branches of economic activity, trades and manufactures, the liberal professions, and municipal and Government service. With resistless advance the Jews pressed forward along every path, fired by ambition and aided by talent, lured ever farther from the narrow confines of the Ghetto to the dazzling careers that awaited them in the outer world, where many of them sooner or later forgot their origin, or even forswore it to attain their goal. For whilst in lands of perfect equality, such as England, America, and Italy, Jews could attain to the highest offices without any sacrifice of their faith, in Germany Judaism still constitutes a disability of which many rid themselves with an easy conscience and a little baptismal water. But even among those who do not move in intellectual or political circles the free unfettered intercourse with their Christian neighbours in social and business relations has wrought damage to the Jewish community, for an increasing number of its children have intermarried with the children of the Church, and though they may nominally continue their adhesion to Judaism their very act gives it the lie, and their posterity are lost for ever to the Jewish fold. The net result of emancipation has thus been assimilation in every land and in every class, an assimilation that is confined for the most part to the social and intellectual life, but which trespasses ever more and more upon the religious domain and claims an annually increasing number of apostates and mixed marriages. Even those who do not formally abandon Judaism for Christianity, because they believe in neither, drift away from their people as soon as the synagogue has ceased to appeal to them; they may for a time, and perhaps even to death, manifest their attachment through philanthropic activity—a sphere of endless dimensions in the Jewish world, but their children are not likely to be retained even by such a bond. Nor is the decadence of Jewry confined to the loss of those whom it once numbered as its children, but it also extends to the diminution of the children who actually come into the world. The ancient

ideals of early marriage and a numerous progeny, cultivated with natural impulsiveness and as a national habit throughout the dark days of mediævalism, have lost their virtue in these days of assimilation and social struggle : fewer marriages take place and fewer children are born relatively among the Jews than among the nations around them, and thus they form a steadily declining proportion in nearly every country and present an easier prey to the forces of dissolution.

True, the Western lands are constantly receiving hosts of immigrants from the East, who are still more or less attached to the customs and traditions of the past, and who may be expected to exercise a counteracting influence and to fill up the gaps created by native losses. But the faith of these Eastern immigrants is also not as strong and immutable as in the days of yore : the ferment of the Russian Revolution has stirred the Jewish mind to its depths, and Yiddish literature, once confined to homely ballads and sentimental novels, has been invaded by translations of the works of all the realistic writers of modern times—Zola, Ibsen, Tolstoi, De Maupassant—and by the revolutionary ideas of all rationalist thinkers. Thus, the intellectual assimilation that has already advanced so far in the West is also penetrating more and more into the orthodox strongholds of the East, as proof of which the epidemic of apostasy that has been spreading among the younger generation of Russian Jews in quest of an academic or professional career, or simply because of their longing to live outside the Pale, is convincing enough. And even those who have successfully resisted the influence of assimilation at home in the East, where they live in a purely Jewish environment, are able to offer less resistance in the maelstrom of the West, where they are exposed to a thousand subtle currents that sweep them away from their ancient moorings ; whilst their children offer no resistance at all and are rapidly assimilated in habit and appearance, in thought and language, to the predominant type. Moreover, even among the seven million Jews in Eastern Europe and the Orient modern education is being fostered more and more assiduously, and its effects are bound to be the

same as among the Jews in the West. Such then are the main forces of dissolution that are at work.

What now are the forces of conservation? Anti-Semitism has always been advanced as one of the great mainstays of Jewry, for it is believed to quicken the racial consciousness even in the slumbering soul of the most indifferent and to rally every community to measures of self-protection. If such were indeed its effect, and if it were produced everywhere unfailingly, it might in truth be claimed as an auxiliary, however unworthy, of the Jewish survival: for it is rampant over the greater area of the Jewish world, Protean in its forms, diabolical in its ingenuity, ruthless in its assault, the offspring of ignorance, envy, and traditional superstitions. The denial of elementary human rights in Russia, outlawry unashamed in Rumania, exclusion from Government service in Germany and Austria and from clubs and hotels in America: these are but a few of the forms of Anti-Semitism, which has now ventured to raise its serpent head in England¹—"the land of the free"—and even in Canada, so young in development yet already endowed with this saturnine product of civilization. Anti-Semitism dogs the footsteps of the Jew in every land, in free republics as in despotic monarchies; it has no respect for rank or class and makes no distinction between the religious and the non-religious Jew; it assails the Jewish politician and author equally with the Jewish artisan and pedlar; it finds ever new objects of accusation, that the Jews, on the one hand, are too rich and live too luxuriously, and on the other hand, that they are too poor and lower the standard of life in their adopted country: that, on the one hand, they are too clever, and will capture the entire State if they are not restrained, and that, on the other hand, they are illiterate and must be denied the right of asylum. Whatever virtue the Jew has is stigmatized as a vice, whatever failing he has—the product of centuries of oppression—is exaggerated as a crime. On the one

¹ This has been admitted even by the *Spectator* (in the course of a review of I. Balla's *Romance of the Rothschilds*, 1st February 1913): "In England we trace signs that Anti-Semitism is raising its head after having been almost non-existent for many generations."

hand, he is upbraided because he holds aloof and does not intermarry with his Christian neighbours ; on the other hand, he is told that he comes of an inferior stock and is not wanted. The rich Jews do, indeed, intermarry with their neighbours and are welcomed for their wealth ; it is the poor who do not, and who are attacked on other grounds. Manifold as the manifestations of Anti-Semitism are, prevailing alike in political and social life, in business and in literature, among blue-blooded aristocrats and slave-driven factory-hands, it reveals one unifying factor—the elemental hatred of the Jew. And yet despite this hatred, varying in form from a comic caricature to a bloodthirsty pogrom, the Jew is not everywhere stung by it to a sense of national pride, to an attitude of self-defence. What is more striking than the vast spread of apostasy and mixed marriages in the very lands, Germany and Austria, where Anti-Semitism is most rampant and provides a plank for political parties ? The very contempt of the Jew displayed by his intolerant neighbour has made many a weakling bend his back to the storm—and turn his feet to the baptismal font ; and yet the converted Jew, be he never so diligent in church attendance, is not less subject to scorn than before, for his baptismal certificate cannot convert his physiognomy and merely advertises his hypocrisy. What more telling proof of the inadequacy of Anti-Semitism as a bulwark of Judaism than the Dreyfus affair or the Russian pogroms ? Never had Republican France been so stirred to its depths as by the internecine controversy aroused by the fictitious charges against the Jewish captain, and yet the moribund condition of French Jewry received not a single quickening impulse and would even now have sunk into further decay but for the vivifying stream of immigration from Eastern Europe. And the Russian pogroms, which aroused the Jews all over the world to an unparalleled display of solidarity and self-help, have become a mere memory even among the Russian Jews themselves, among whom apostasy was never so rife or so lightly judged as at the present day. No, Anti-Semitism cannot be reckoned as a conserving force in Jewry : even in its extremest phase it only causes a

temporary outburst of racial indignation, but the individual Jew goes on his own way, moulded by the immediate forces around him—social, economic, and intellectual—and is slowly absorbed by his environment.

Are there, then, no positive conserving forces in Jewry itself? Has it not a multitude of organized communities with institutions of every kind, social and intellectual, religious and philanthropic; is it not endowed with a vigorous pulsating life? A consideration of the functions of these various institutions will suffice to show how conditional they are in their existence and how limited in their sphere of influence. The synagogue has lost the power it wielded even fifty years ago and in this age of rationalism is never likely to regain it; and the allied institutions of the *Beth Hamidrash* ("House of Study") and religion classes are also declining in importance. In Germany and in Italy more than one little community in recent years has died out and its synagogue closed through the migration of its members to larger towns, where they are exposed to the forces of assimilation more fully than in their previous homes. The specifically social organizations, clubs, institutes, friendly societies, are cultivated mainly by the immigrant classes and by their children; but it is the ambition of most Jews in England and America to belong to non-Jewish clubs, whether of a social, professional, or political character. There is an abundance of literary and historical societies, which serve, it is true, to promote an interest in the literature, history, and general conditions of the Jewish people and to keep alive the historic consciousness; but it is a matter of common knowledge that these societies do not exercise half as strong a spell as those devoted to social amusement, and in any case their activity is almost wholly concentrated on the past and fails to build up anything for the future. There is a still greater number of philanthropic societies, ranging from the powerful Jewish Colonization Association to a small local "bread, meat, and coal society," which stimulate the sentiment of solidarity; but the activity of these societies is simply based upon the poverty and persecution of the great mass of Jewry, which are unfortunately likely

to continue for a great length of time, but which, according to all reasonable calculation, will diminish in the course of future decades. The immense flood of emigration that pours forth ceaselessly from Eastern Europe lessens the gravity of the task for philanthropic organizations, for even though the newcomers in the Western lands demand assistance in the early period of their settlement they soon succeed in earning a living and shift for themselves.

The key to a great part of the question is the situation in Russia and its future. Little do the rulers of that Empire dream, in their insensate policy of persecution, that the best method to rid themselves of the Jews, which they so heartily desire, would be to abolish the Pale and give its inhabitants absolute freedom. For then the Jews would gradually distribute themselves over the vast tracts of the Empire and become, like their brethren in the West, a ready prey to the forces of assimilation. Even in their bondage, and with the limited opportunities of social and intellectual intercourse that they have with their neighbours, the Russian Jews are already displaying a notable degree of assimilation: how much more rapid would this process be when they attain complete liberty! Whether the hour of their emancipation will strike within the next twenty or the next fifty years is a matter that, after the collapse of the Revolution of 1905, nobody can safely prophesy.¹ But sooner or later their freedom is bound to come. In an age when absolutist monarchies like Turkey and Persia can be converted into constitutional states with representative government, and when the hoary Celestial Empire can be rejuvenated into a republic, the liberation of the Jews from the Russian yoke—and from the Rumanian too—must be within the realm of practical politics. And then, when that blessed day dawns and the down-trodden Jews of former days no longer need the help and intervention of their Western brethren, when massacres will become a mere memory, and the “ritual murder” myth will be derided even by children, and the economic boycott will be forgotten, and the zone of poverty will shrink, and when, too, the Russian passport question will be satisfactorily settled;

¹ See note on p. 326.

and the foreign Jew will not need to present a baptismal certificate at the Russian frontier : what will remain for the philanthropic and quasi-political organizations to do ? At present their work consists in making good the damage wrought by others, in repairing the breaches in the fabric of Jewry ; but when there are no longer any breaches their function must cease or at any rate decline. One of the great motor-forces in the conservation of Western Jewry will thus cease to operate, and its power of survival will correspondingly abate. And as for Eastern Jewry, although it is impossible to hope that the statute book which will give them their liberty can give their neighbours a new heart,—any more than the enunciation of the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity enshrined in the French Constitution could make the Frenchman look upon the Jew as his brother,—such social hostility as continues to prevail will only have the same modified influence as Anti-Semitism in Germany, where it is altogether ineffectual in preventing assimilation.

The fundamental causes that have wrought the assimilation of Jewry and are destined in the normal course to further its disintegration, are the lack of a national territory and the loss of religious faith. The restitution of either of these factors would provide a powerful bulwark against further dissolution and a guarantee for the prolongation of Jewish life. But to hope for a restoration of religious faith, and above all for a revival of ritual observance as practised throughout the centuries, is to misread all the signs of the present age, with the usurpation of religious authority by science and the supersession of theological dogmas by ethical ideals. We must, therefore, dismiss the possibility of a religious revival, which is precluded, moreover, by the very environment of the Jew ; and in any case, even if it were possible, it would only be confined to a few rare spirits and could only affect their spiritual lives without having any permanent fertilizing influence upon their intellectual activity. Hence the only possible remedy for the present dissolution, the only effective check to increasing disintegration, is to obtain the restoration of a national territory.

But here the question may arise : *Cui bono* ? If, it is argued by some, the Jewish people shows such numerous and widespread symptoms of decay, why should it be preserved ? Why not let it decay ? The answer is that the decay is not the fault of the Jews, but their misfortune, the inevitable product of their anomalous position—their exile. And further, why should the Jews have to justify their existence ? Is any other nation called upon to justify its existence ? Were the Albanians, who are now rejoicing in their newly-won independence, called upon to justify their demand for national conservation ? And yet the Albanians, with all due respect for whatever they may have contributed to the culture and betterment of the world, cannot be compared with the Jews who have wrought so much. But they have one important advantage : they have a land of their own, and that is sufficient to sweep aside all objections. The Jews, however, have a noble past, chequered with suffering yet rich in achievement, whose claim to national conservation is certainly not less weighty or worthy than that of the Albanians, the Serbs, or the Bulgarians.

There is, it is true, a school of thought in Jewry which maintains that the Jews are not a nation but only a religious community, but this view is little more than a century old, for it was propounded by Moses Mendelssohn to justify the claims of the Jews to political emancipation. But a people that, though scattered for nearly twenty centuries, is bound together not only by the ties of faith but by common racial descent, by a common historical development, by a common and continuous literature, by a common language, by common sufferings and hopes, and which, even in its present unparalleled dispersion, has such a host of social, intellectual, economic, and philanthropic institutions, which subserve no sectarian purpose whatever, can justly regard itself as a nation even though it has no land of its own. It was as a nation that the Jews always regarded themselves from the first day of their exile—as a nation in exile ; as such they are officially treated in Turkey at the present day ; and as such alone can they be understood aright. What a pitiful

delusion was cherished by the myriads of martyrs throughout the Middle Ages if Israel were now content to be written down as a mere sect and to be wiped off the roll of the nations! What a waste of blood, of hope, and of prayer, if the ideal of national restoration were now surrendered as a mere fable! There are indeed some who are content to abandon this ideal: those who call themselves Englishmen, Frenchmen, or Germans of "the Jewish persuasion," but these selfsame Jews who maintain that they form a religious community are characterized, as a rule, by very little religion. They declare that the Jews were dispersed and must remain dispersed to fulfil a spiritual mission in accordance with the Divine Will, but they are blind to all the signs of the times—that the lands in which the Jews are most faithful to their traditions treat them with the greatest cruelty, and that so far are the Jews in other lands from spreading their mission that they themselves succumb to the mission propagated by Christianity and desert the fold in ever-increasing numbers year by year. But those who believe in the nationality of their people must devise a method for perpetuating it upon a territory of its own. The mere desire for its continuance is a motive sufficient in itself, but when this motive is blended with a pride in the ethical ideals of Judaism and a confidence in the high intellectual capacity and productivity of the Jews, then one has indeed a splendid stimulus to achieve a great ideal.

The settlement of the Jews upon a territory of their own must, however, fulfil certain essential conditions if it is to provide the firm basis of a healthy development of national life. The first is an economic condition: the economic life in the national centre must be self-contained in order that the people may be able to develop as naturally and as fully as every other nation, that each individual may be able to follow his own bent and pursue the vocation for which he is best fitted, and that the commonwealth may be able to order and regulate its social life in accordance with its own traditions and predilections and without regard to the wishes and customs of others. The basis

of such a self-contained economic life must be agriculture, not only because a nation has the surest guarantee of permanence if it can satisfy its own bodily wants, but also because the class that is most closely attached to the soil consists of the farmers and peasants. The artisan can pack up his tools at any moment and migrate to another land with a good prospect of finding employment; the professional man—doctor, author, or artist—can also easily change the scene of his activity with little compunction and with little fear of incurring any ultimate loss; but the peasant who is born and reared on the soil is attached to it with an elemental love, and if in addition to a contented living he has a material interest in the soil that he cultivates, he cannot easily drag himself away from his peaceful farmstead to an unknown clime. It is significant that of all the occupations of Russian Jewry comprised among the emigrants to America agriculture is represented by the smallest percentage; and that the Jews can successfully adapt themselves to agriculture has been abundantly proved by the numerous farm-settlements in Russia and America, not to speak of Palestine.

The second essential condition is of an intellectual nature: the nation must have its own language and, as a natural corollary, its own educational system. Dispersed as the Jews are at present, they speak in many tongues; but united in a land of their own, they must be linked together by a common tongue, not only that they may understand one another, but in order that their life may have a distinctive national impress, a soul of its own, through which its spiritual strivings and literary creations may find a common medium of expression. What this language should be admits of no question: it must be the language through which the soul of the people found expression when it formerly lived as a nation on its own soil and which has never ceased to be uttered by Jewish lips throughout the centuries of exile. Yiddish is spoken only by half—at the most—of the Jewish people; it is disowned and despised by those in the West and is a strange language to those in the Orient; and besides,

it is built up on an alien foundation—mediæval German—and has a loose grammar and inexact orthography. But Hebrew has a fixed and elaborate grammatical system ; it is the language of the greatest book in the world, the Bible ; it is the vehicle of a continuous Jewish literature down to the present day, and it is capable of answering all the requirements of a modern cultivated speech in the various spheres of science and invention, art and philosophy, economics and politics, as is amply shown by the recent revival of Hebrew in Palestine. That the people must also have its own educational system is an inevitable corollary of the freedom necessary for the use and growth of its language ; and besides, it is in the schools that the foundations of national culture are laid, and a people without a specific culture of its own is only the shadow of a nation. It is, of course, impossible to create a brand-new Jewish culture, nor is there any such desire ; the main elements of culture are common to all civilized countries and they will also be contained in the culture of the Jewish commonwealth, where, however, they will be fused with Jewish ideas and traditions and quickened by a specific intellectual outlook born of the soil. That such a process is conceivable and natural is illustrated by the history of the English people itself, in whose early development alien influences were so strong that French was the language of the courts and the schools till as late as 1362. Visionaries may demand the levelling of all national differences and decry the fostering of yet another culture ; but as long as nations are divided by mountains and seas such differences will remain, and the culture of mankind is all the richer by virtue of its variety. The culture of the new Judæa, moreover, will not be antagonistic to European culture, but a vital part of it, produced under the influence of Jewish ideas, in the normal course of national development, on a Jewish soil.

A third essential condition is of a physical nature : the national settlement must consist of a compact concentration of Jews both in town and country. The prime source of present-day assimilation consists in the fact that the Jews constitute a minority in all the lands of their dispersion : they are thus subjected to influences

stronger than themselves and are easily and involuntarily adapted, in the course of time, to the predominant type. Such a possibility must be eliminated from the land in which Jews are to develop a national life, and hence they must there constitute the majority. This condition is impracticable at the outset except in utterly uninhabited countries, but it must be striven after zealously and systematically if Jewish national life is to become a reality. For with a majority in the towns and in the country places the Jews will not only form the dominating social element and impress their own characteristics upon their environment, they will not only provide the Jewish milieu in which alone works of art reflecting the Jewish genius can come into being, and in which the laws and customs of their faith can be observed unhindered, but they will also automatically secure the administration of these localities into their own hands and thus assure for themselves freedom of development in every direction.

Which is the land that can fulfil all these conditions? The East European region, which has been the home of millions of Jews, has itself been suggested as the best nucleus of a Jewish national centre, because it already has a Jewish language and has preserved intact traditional Jewish culture. But the objections to such a plan are that the Jews both in Russia and Rumania are excluded from the land and would be without an agricultural basis; that the region itself is becoming industrialized; that its culture would be subject to the influences of Polish or German culture; and, what is most important of all, that Jews in other parts of the world would never acknowledge allegiance to such a centre, as it would have neither historical nor moral claim to recognition.

A second proposal is that a colony should be established in some uninhabited part of the world, where the Jews from the outset should be given local autonomy. This is the principle of the Jewish Territorial Organization, founded by Mr. Israel Zangwill during the days of the Zionist Congress of 1905, which declined the offer of the British Government of a territory in East Africa. The Territorial Organization has conducted negotiations with

various Governments and carried out a scientific exploration of Cyrenaica, which was found unfit for settlement on account of deficient water, and also of Angola, as to the fitness of which the members of the scientific commission themselves differed. So far the "ITO" (as the Jewish Territorial Organization, from its initials, is commonly called), although formed to obtain an immediate asylum for the Jews owing to the slow progress of settlement in Palestine, has not, after nine years of persistent search, turned the first sod of its projected colony, nor is there much prospect that such a colony will ever become a reality; for the only appeal, or the strongest appeal, that it could make to the oppressed Jews of the East is that of an economic nature, and they can satisfy their economic wants much more readily by emigration to America than by settling in a strange, uninhabited region, where they would have to endure much privation in the early period, for which they could find no compensation in a sentimental attachment.¹ Moreover, such a settlement could produce no truly national Jewish culture, for it would be populated, according to all reasonable calculations, solely by East European Jews of the proletarian class, who might succeed with external aid in carrying on a comfortable community, but who, by reason of the concessions they would have to make in their dealings with the outside world, could not foster a language of their own or produce a literature worthy of the name.

The only territory upon which all the specified conditions of a successful national settlement can be fulfilled is the land advocated by Zionism—Palestine. Here a self-contained economic life with an agricultural basis can be established; here Hebrew can be fostered as the national language and Jewish schools can be built; and here the Jews can live in a compact mass in the various towns and rural settlements. But, above and beyond all these advantages, Palestine is the land where the Jewish nation

¹ A member of the executive of the "ITO" and one of its founders, Dr. I. A. Stein, of Elizabethgrad, has, after a recent tour of Palestine, advocated that the colonization of Palestine should be placed "in the forefront of the 'ITO' programme" (*Jewish Chronicle*, 8th May 1914).

grew up, where its prophets spoke and its psalmists sang, where its sacred literature was written, its ethical ideals were formed, its spiritual treasures were fashioned: the land to which the heart of the Jew was turned throughout the long centuries of suffering in exile. What is more natural than that the land of the Jewish past should be made the land of the Jewish future? Whether the process is practicable, and to what extent it may succeed, are matters that depend upon the Jewish people itself, but already sufficient has been accomplished within a short time to justify the best hopes for the future. The support so far given to Zionism has come from a very small minority, and the number of Jews so far settled in the country hardly exceeds 100,000. The ultimate realization of Zionism may take many decades, and even at the best, even if Palestine contained three to four million Jews, these would form a minority of the Jewish people. But it would be a vigorous minority, pulsating with national life, and capable of communicating a vivifying influence to the communities that remained scattered all over the globe.

THE JEWS IN RUSSIA.—Note to pp. 156 and 318.

The persecution of the Jews in Russia has greatly increased in extent and severity during the last two years. In 1913 alone, over 10,000 Jews were expelled from various towns outside the Pale and from Polish villages, in which, in many cases, they had been settled over thirty years. In 1912, of 3000 Jewish students who applied for admission to the universities and technical colleges, only 350 were admitted; and in 1913, of 3908 who applied only 162 were admitted (*Hilfsverein Report*, 1914). The most serious addition to the code of disabilities is the recent law which prohibits Jews to sit on the boards of joint stock companies and forbids such companies as have Jewish directors to acquire lands. This reactionary measure produced a veritable panic in the Russian financial world. The *Times* (5th June 1914) stigmatized the measure as "grotesque," but it justified the general disabilities of the Jews on the ground that the Jews were engaged in "peddling, liquor-dealing, and money-lending," and that if they were free to trade among the peasants they would soon "'eat up' the tillers of the soil." The fact is, two-fifths of the Jews are engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits; liquor-dealing is a monopoly of the Government; and the mass of the Jews are too poor to have any money to lend. Even if there were a shred of substance in the allegation of the *Times*, it cannot justify the mass of anti-Jewish restrictions that embitter the lives of artisans and persons engaged in the liberal professions, nor the impending banishment of 40,000 Jews from Kiev (*Russische Korrespondenz*, 18th July 1914).

CHAPTER II

ZIONISM

The aims of Zionism—Precursors of Zionism—The founding of the Zionist Organization—Influence of Zionism upon Jewish life—The institutions of Zionism—The colonizing of Palestine: introduction of credit—Promotion of agriculture—Improvement of farming methods—Promotion of urban colonization: industrial crafts—Housing and sanitation improvements—Education and culture upon a Hebrew basis—The political aspect—Relations with the native population—The general outlook

ZIONISM is the name of the movement which aims at the restoration of Jewish national life in Palestine. It is based upon the conviction that the Jews are a nation, that they can best fulfil their destiny by reviving their corporate life upon a national basis in their ancestral country, and that only by this means can they preserve Jewry from the forces of disintegration to which it is now exposed and secure its permanent and progressive development. It represents the first organized endeavour of the Jewish people since its banishment from Palestine nearly two thousand years ago to put an end to its alternating lot of oppression, tolerance, or fatal drift, by acquiring the status and dignity of a nation in the land in which its national life first came into being. Its adherents are spread far and wide, in the East and the West, in the Old World and in the New, in the lands of absolute freedom as in those of unmitigated bondage; and they are knit together in a democratic organization which at periodical Congresses shapes the policy and determines the practical measures of the movement. But whilst it receives its impetus from the present, it draws its inspiration from the past, for Zionism represents in modern form that traditional love

of Zion which animated the Jew throughout the centuries, the hope in the ingathering of Israel in the Holy Land which soothed the sufferings of exile. For nearly two thousand years the sentiment found expression merely in a religious form—in prayers and pilgrimages—whilst ever and again, in the gloom of the Middle Ages, it was fanned into flame by a false Messiah who heralded the return to Zion, and then abandoned his deluded followers to despair. Not until the nineteenth century was any energetic desire evinced to convert the prayer into practice, the idea into a reality. Formerly the Jews went to Palestine to die: now they go there to live.

The advocacy of the colonization of Palestine as the only solution of the Jewish question was made as early as 1818 by Mordecai Manuel Noah in America, and was repeated in different countries at intervals throughout the century. In France it was urged in 1830 by the historian, Joseph Salvador; in Germany, in 1862, independently by Moses Hess in his *Rome and Jerusalem*, and by Hirsch Kalischer in his *Quest of Zion*, the one a Socialist, the other an orthodox Rabbi; in England, in 1876, by George Eliot in her famous novel *Daniel Deronda*; and in Russia, in 1880, by the Hebrew writers Moses Lilienblum and Perez Smolenskin, and soon after by Leon Pinsker too, who, in his historic pamphlet *Auto-Emancipation*, eloquently argued that the settlement of the Jews in a land of their own was the only salvation from their sufferings, though he did not specifically propose Palestine for the purpose. The interest in the idea that had been aroused in the 'sixties soon bore fruit, for the work of colonization was actually begun in 1870 by the establishment, by the "Alliance Israélite," of an agricultural school at Mikveh Israel ("The Hope of Israel"). In the following decade the Society of "Lovers of Zion" (*Chovevei Zion*) was founded in 1884 by a Jewish Conference at Kattowitz, to promote the Jewish resettlement upon a more extensive scale, and affiliated societies sprang up in various parts of Europe. The work of colonization, however, lagged at the beginning, partly owing to the early settlers

being endowed only with zeal, but with little practical knowledge, and partly owing to the obstacles inevitably associated with pioneer settlement ; and it was not until Baron Edmond de Rothschild came to its aid with his munificent generosity that it made any appreciable progress. The "Lovers of Zion" were animated, it is true, by the national sentiment, but the general character of their activity was a blend of philanthropy and religious piety, whilst the aid contributed by Western Jews was also prompted mainly by charitable motives tinged with the racial consciousness. Not until the advent of the feuilletonist and playwright, Theodor Herzl, in 1896, was the Jewish national sentiment propounded as an idea whose expression should not limit itself to the creation of scattered colonies in the Holy Land, but which should expand into an organized endeavour of the Jewish people to work for its national regeneration. Hitherto the national idea had meant that Western Jews helped Eastern Jews to settle in Palestine ; henceforth it was to mean that Western Jews were to work together with their Eastern brethren for the restoration of Jewish national life in Palestine, in which not a section of the people but the whole people should be represented. The religious-philanthropic movement became a national-political movement—*Chovevei Zionism* became Political Zionism.

Herzl promulgated his first ideas upon the re-nationalization of the Jews in a pamphlet, *The Jewish State*, which served the purpose of arousing a discussion of the question throughout the whole world, although its detailed proposals were afterwards modified. His scheme encountered bitter opposition in Western Europe and America, not merely on the part of influential laymen, but also on the part of a large majority of the Rabbis. The former declared that Herzl's ideas were subversive of local patriotism, a point that never occurred to Christians themselves ; the latter banned his scheme as a violation of the "Mission of Israel" and a contradiction of the Messianic doctrine. But despite relentless and powerful opposition, conducted in the press and pulpit, Herzl succeeded in convening a Congress for

the purpose of deliberation. It was opened at Basle on 27th August 1897, and was attended by 206 delegates from all parts of the world. This Congress adopted as the programme of Zionism "the creation of a publicly-legally secured home in Palestine for the Jewish people," and it laid the foundations of a world-wide Organization, comprising federations with numerous local societies in all the countries that have a considerable Jewish population. The government of the Organization was entrusted to a General Council (*Greater Actions Committee*) composed of representatives of different countries, and to a Central Executive (*Smaller Actions Committee*), whose members all lived in Vienna, the home of Herzl, who was elected as President. Every Jew was declared to be a Zionist who acknowledged the Basle Programme and who paid the annual tax of a shekel (one shilling) to provide the central administration with its working fund. The payment of the shekel conferred the right to vote for a delegate to Congress, which became the controlling organ of the movement, the ultimate arbiter upon all great and decisive measures undertaken in the name of the Organization.

Since the first Congress at Basle ten other Zionist Congresses have been held, first at intervals of a year and then of two years; and in the sixteen years that have elapsed since its foundation the Zionist Organization has acquired a firm footing in the Jewish communities all over the globe, established a number of important institutions necessary for the execution of its plans, and embarked upon systematic colonizing activity in the Holy Land. Zionism has exercised such a profound and determining influence upon Jewish life that its creation constitutes as significant and important a landmark in Jewish history as the act of political emancipation in many a Western country. It forced every thinking Jew to make up his mind what his attitude should be: whether he should be content with the policy of *laissez faire* tranquilly pursued by the official communal organizations, with their promotion of assimilation, or whether

he should deliver himself from this fatal drift and strive for the regeneration of his people. It came as a redeeming angel to thousands of cultured Jews in the West who had lost their faith in the religion of their fathers, and who were faced by despair and the possibility of utter absorption into their environment, for it revived their national consciousness that had slumbered so long. It inspired them with a new dignity and self-respect: it stiffened the back and steadied the eye of the Jewish student in Germany and Austria, who had hitherto listened in silence to the gibes of his Christian fellow-students, but who now, infused with a new soul, proudly bore his Jewish colours and commanded respect for the Jewish name by the only method acceptable in academic circles on the Continent—skill and prowess in fencing. It enkindled a love for Jewish literature and a pride in Jewish history: it caused the Hebrew language to be cultivated anew as a modern speech, capable of expressing all the thoughts and ideas of the cultured mind. It made Jewish thinkers take a deeper and more comprehensive view of the Jewish question, and inspired the writing of a number of literary works—poems, novels, dramas, and sociological studies—in different languages. It also exercised a stimulating influence upon Jewish art and music, and infused a Jewish spirit into many spheres of thought and endeavour. Zionism, moreover, has bridged over the gulf that had long existed between the Jews of the East and those of the West despite the philanthropic work that had been carried on for decades by the latter in the interests of the former: the Jews of the East had hitherto been regarded as mere objects of charity, now they were regarded as brothers. And no institution in Jewry can compare in its unique significance with the Zionist Congress, which draws together Jews from every land and every clime, from every rank and profession, from every school of thought and point of view, the American Jew and the Oriental, the orthodox Rabbi and the agnostic author, the merchant and the scientist, the student and the workman, providing them all with a unique opportunity of

learning to know and understand one another, levelling their local prejudices, and strengthening the feeling of fraternity that binds them together. But it must be admitted that, although the propaganda of Zionism has now been carried on for more than sixteen years by means of a host of journals in twenty different languages and countless eloquent advocates in all parts of the world, its organized adherents number only about 130,000, which forms a very small minority of the Jewish people. The process of assimilation had been allowed too long a start : the disintegrating effects of a hundred years of social emancipation cannot be arrested in a day. Zionism has its staunchest and most numerous followers among the Jews in Eastern Europe and those who, born within this zone of intense Jewish life, have settled during the last thirty years in England, America, and the British colonies ; but it also has a growing number of ardent supporters, particularly in the professional classes, among the Jews in Germany and Austria-Hungary, whilst there is hardly a land in Europe, or a Jewish city in any other continent, that has not its band of energetic and self-sacrificing workers, for the Zionist societies extend from Hamburg to Hong-Kong, from Montreal to Melbourne, from Cape Town to Copenhagen.

In order to carry out its policy the Zionist Organization has created a number of institutions of a financial, economic, and intellectual character. First in importance came the financial instrument, the Jewish Colonial Trust, which was originally designed for the purpose of securing a charter from the Sultan of Turkey for an autonomous Jewish settlement in Palestine. The Trust was registered as a joint-stock company in London in 1899, and is unique among the banks of the world, for its 100,000 shareholders and more are distributed all over the face of the earth. It has a paid-up capital of £260,000, and began its operations in 1901. Two years later the Trust established an important offshoot, the Anglo-Palestine Company in Jaffa, which subsequently opened branches in Jerusalem, Beyrut, Haifa, Safed, Hebron, Tiberias, and

Gaza, and now has a paid-up capital of £100,000. In 1908, soon after the Turkish Revolution, the Zionist Organization extended its financial operations by founding the Anglo-Levantine Banking Company in Constantinople, which has a paid-up capital of £25,000. In order to acquire land in Palestine the Jewish National Fund was founded in 1901 and registered as an English limited liability company, and although it derives its income solely from voluntary contributions it has already accumulated a capital of £200,000. Part of this money has been devoted to the purchase of land which has been put under cultivation and to fostering agriculture, part has been applied to the betterment of housing accommodation in towns and rural settlements, and part has been used to support institutions of public utility, such as schools conducted on Jewish national principles. The actual task of the purchase and improvement of land was undertaken by the Palestine Land Development Company, which was founded in 1908 and devotes itself mainly to the interests of private capitalists, and by the *Erez Israel* ("Land of Israel") Settlement Association, which was founded three years later with the object of establishing colonies of labourers upon a co-operative basis. The principal foundations in the intellectual sphere of activity are the *Bezalel*, a school of arts and crafts (named after the architect of the Tabernacle in the Wilderness) which was established in Jerusalem in 1905, and the Culture Fund *Kedem* ("East"), which was created in 1913 for the purpose of promoting Jewish national culture. We shall now consider the work that has been accomplished by the Zionist Organization by means of these various institutions and companies.

When the Zionists first began to undertake the colonization of Palestine they were confronted by a serious and stupendous task, although a large number of Jewish colonists had already been established by means of philanthropy. Their task consisted in nothing less than the adaptation of an Eastern land that had been neglected for centuries as a home suitable for an industrious and highly civilized people that had long been nurtured amid

Western, or semi-Western conditions. The indolent spirit of the East, however welcome to the pious pilgrim or to the greybeard come to die on sacred soil, seemed to diffuse its torpid influence throughout the country. Industry pursued a slow and somnolent course, because this undeveloped agricultural region lacked the vital stimulus of credit. There was, indeed, a certain system of credit in vogue, but it was not calculated to encourage enterprise or to quicken a sense of responsibility. A rich landowner would lend money to a struggling farmer at usurious interest without any security, and in default of repayment he would with the help of hired soldiers seize some of the debtor's cattle. Even if this dramatic development were unnecessary, the rate of interest that had to be paid scarcely permitted the farmer or tradesman to make any progress in his respective calling. Not until the Anglo-Palestine Company appeared upon the scene was a radical change brought about in this direction. The Zionist Bank was the first to introduce European conceptions of credit into the Holy Land, thus conferring a boon upon all classes of society and all grades of industry. It grants loans for short periods at moderate interest to colonists, merchants, and manufacturers of recognized solvency, and loans for longer periods to farmers and building societies, the repayment of which is guaranteed respectively by the harvest or rent. It has promoted the formation of co-operative loan societies among the artisans, small traders, and agricultural workers, to such an extent that there are now fifty-two societies with 2300 members enjoying a credit of over 660,000 francs. It has also advanced considerable loans for land purchase and for the promotion of many objects that in other countries fall within the scope of the community or the State, such as local administration, water-supply, public security, traffic, and the building of schools and hospitals—all urgent objects for which the colonies could not obtain the means upon reasonable terms from any other source. The confidence enjoyed by the Zionist Bank is shown by the fact that its deposits and current

accounts increased from 383,000 francs at the end of 1903 to 8,300,000 francs at the end of 1913, and it has paid a dividend of $4\frac{1}{8}$ per cent every year from 1906 to 1913. The benefits that it has conferred upon the business life of Palestine and Syria are by no means confined to Jewish circles, for Moslems and Christians are also among its clients, and the success that it has achieved within the first ten years of its existence affords a sure prospect of more extensive usefulness in the near future.¹

A much more important problem was the creation of an agricultural population, for this must form the basis of the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. The colonies that had been established by the *Chovevei Zion* and by the munificence of Baron Edmond de Rothschild were unable to point to any notable success, for the simple reason that they were the product of philanthropy, and that some of the colonists did not have the necessary backbone and enterprise which can be developed only by self-help. The Zionist Organization resolved not to follow in this unwise path, but to attract private capitalists who would be sufficiently animated by the national sentiment to buy land and cultivate it, and to attract labourers who would also be inspired by sufficient idealism to work the land. The difficulties that formerly frightened would-be settlers away, and which consisted mainly in the fact that the plots for sale were usually too large for their individual requirements and that the legal formalities connected with the transfer involved a considerable loss of time, have been removed by the Palestine Land Development Company. This Company acquires large tracts (either with its own means or with those of the Jewish National Fund), prepares them for cultivation, and divides them into small holdings suitable for farmers of moderate means, whilst it also constructs ways of communication and provides a water-supply. On the other hand, in various countries there have been formed a large number of plantation companies

¹ The Anglo-Palestine Company has issued a special volume in English, giving an account of the work of the bank and its branches during the years 1903-13.

(mostly under the name of *Achuzah* or Estate Companies), with shares that can be paid off in quarterly instalments, so that every holder of even a few shares can settle in Palestine in the course of time. Two colonies have already been established upon this basis, the first by a group of American Zionists at Poriah, near Chinnereth, in 1911, and the second by a group of Russian Zionists at Ruchama in 1912. The task of creating a Jewish peasant class, in view of the strong individualism even of the Jewish labourer, can most probably be solved best by the founding of farm settlements upon a co-operative basis, which can secure the maximum of labour out of the individual by giving him a material interest in the result of his efforts. Such a settlement has already proved successful at Dagania, on the shore of the Sea of Tiberias, and another co-operative settlement upon a more ambitious scale, planned by the well-known economist Dr. Franz Oppenheimer, has been founded at Merchaviah, near Nazareth. Five years ago there were only a few hundred Jewish labourers in the Palestinian colonies, most of the work being done by Arabs; but the number has now risen to fifteen hundred, owing partly to the increase of farm settlements and partly to the immigration of the Jews from Yemen, who live simple, frugal lives and are thus able to compete with the native Arabs. The large number of Jews (about 30,000) who are still anxious to leave their terror-ridden hamlets in the Yemen for the peace of the Holy Land should contribute in a great measure to solve the labour question.

Despite the thirty years in which Jews have been engaged in the colonization of Palestine they possess at present barely more than 2 per cent of the total area of the country, whilst they form nearly 14½ per cent of the population. There has been a notable increase of Jewish land acquisition, however, since the Zionist Organization became active, and there is every indication that the increase will continue. There has also been a great improvement in technical methods, thanks to the introduction of modern machinery and the activity of the Agri-

cultural Experiment Station at Haifa, which owes its inception to Zionist effort, though its actual foundation is due to a group of American Jews. The training of young farmers is carried on at an agricultural school at Petach Tikvah, and the dissemination of a knowledge of the latest methods and newest implements is effected by means of a technical journal in Hebrew. The colonization has improved in two main directions in recent years : it has expanded from the narrow basis of viticulture to which it was confined for so many years, and now comprises all branches of farming—agriculture, horticulture, kitchen-gardening, cattle and poultry raising, and dairy farming ; and secondly, an earnest beginning has been made in a special school with the training of girls for life on a farm. For only when the Jewish farmer is not tied exclusively to one branch of farming, and when he receives the willing and competent aid of his wife and daughters, will he be able to achieve success that will endure.

The Zionists have also promoted urban colonization so far by means of the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts and by the building of modern dwellings. The Bezalel, which consists of two sections, school and workshop, is engaged in carpet-weaving, carpentry, Damascus metal-work, copper-work, metal-chasing, batik-printing, ivory-carving, and the making of baskets and filigree ornaments. Starting from very humble beginnings, when the workmen had to be taught their respective crafts, the Bezalel now employs nearly 400 people, and the quality of its products may be appreciated from the fact that they are now on sale at some of the leading business establishments in London, Berlin, and New York. Indeed, its carpets have lately undergone such an improvement that European connoisseurs declare that they can fully vie with the famous carpets of Turkey and Persia. The Bezalel has also acted as a pioneer in establishing a domestic industry in the open country. It has settled at Ben Schamen, near Lydda, a group of Yemenites, who are provided with cottages, gardens, and a workshop, and who, while mainly engaged in filigree work and carpet weaving, are also able to

devote some time to market gardening and poultry rearing. It has thus indicated the way in which the problem of the growing congestion of Jerusalem, with all its social and sanitary evils, can be solved in a manner that will benefit both the people and the country. Moreover, lace workrooms have been established in Jerusalem, Jaffa, and other towns, in which about 400 girls now earn a living.

The other important achievement in urban colonization is the construction of an entire modern quarter in Jaffa, thanks to the aid of the Jewish National Fund. *Tel Abib*, or "Spring Vale," as this quarter is called, comprises well-built houses which are equipped with every comfort and hygienic requirement, are in striking contrast to the miserable, unhealthy dwellings they have replaced, and have aroused the admiration of all European visitors. The district already has 2000 inhabitants and is slowly expanding. A similar modern quarter, named "Herzliah," is being built in Haifa. The erection of up-to-date dwellings is merely part of a larger programme for the improvement of hygienic conditions. The Zionist Organization is raising a fund for the establishment of a Microbiological Institute, and meanwhile it subventions a "Society of Jewish doctors and scientists for sanitary improvements in Palestine," which co-operates with the Office of Health founded by Mr. Nathan Straus and with a German medical research institute in the work of the International Health Office, which has set itself the task of combating malaria in Palestine. The suppression of other contagious diseases prevalent in the country, such as trachoma, has also been undertaken by this Health Office.

In the sphere of education and culture the most prominent place is occupied by the Hebrew *Gymnasium* or Higher Grade School at Jaffa, where over 500 pupils now receive efficient instruction in all subjects through the medium of Hebrew. The leaving certificate of this school has already been won by the first group of pupils, and it has been recognized for matriculation purposes by several Continental universities. There is a similar high school at Jerusalem, which is at present on a much smaller scale,



THE BEZALEL SCHOOL IN JERUSALEM

though it is bound to develop before long. There are a number of other schools, elementary and higher grade, which are maintained by the three philanthropic organizations, the French "Alliance Israélite," the German "Hilfsverein," and the Anglo-Jewish Association. Each of these bodies naturally gives a preference to the language of its own country as the medium of instruction in the schools that it maintains, although this principle is not carried out strictly or systematically. It is inevitable, however, that there should be a certain lack of uniformity in method and curriculum, which the Union of Teachers, comprising 150 members, is doing its utmost to remedy by arranging a common curriculum, organizing teachers' examinations, and compiling text-books and reading-books in Hebrew. The spread of Hebrew as the language of ordinary intercourse in Jewish life is the most notable phenomenon of the last decade, and hence it is not surprising to find that pupils who regard Hebrew as their mother-tongue insist upon being taught in this medium in schools where preference is given to a European tongue. This is the underlying cause of the remarkable "strike" that took place at the schools of the "Hilfsverein" last winter, although the immediate impetus to this demonstration was the original decision of the board of governors, adopted under the influence of the "Hilfsverein" members, that German—and not Hebrew—should be the medium of instruction at the newly built Technical Institute and the adjoining middle school at Haifa, for which the major part of the funds had been supplied by benefactors in Russia and America. But this decision was reversed a few months later: it was resolved that from the opening of the Institute physics and mathematics should be taught in Hebrew, and that at the end of the first four years other subjects also should be taught in this medium. The enthusiasm that now prevails for Hebrew culture has found fitting expression in the resolve to create a Hebrew University in Jerusalem, which will place the coping-stone upon the Jewish educational system in Palestine. For the present Hebrew culture is fostered by a number of Hebrew

publishing houses and newspapers, and by a network of libraries, of which the principal is the National Library in Jerusalem. Hebrew drama and music are also zealously fostered, the former by a society that organizes periodical performances and dramatic recitals in Hebrew, and the latter by musical academies in Jaffa and Jerusalem. Thus all intellectual interests are manifested and cultivated in the new Judæa.

Herzl, the founder of the Organization that has brought all this vigorous and variegated life into being, conceived the securing of a charter, guaranteed by the Powers, to be the primary and fundamental basis of the Jewish resettlement in Palestine. That view may have been plausible in the days of the old régime under Abdul Hamid, but Herzl was called to an early grave in 1904, and since then Turkey has acquired a constitutional Government. It is doubtful, in any case, if a Sultan of Turkey would give a charter to a body of foreigners for autonomous settlement in a land containing 600,000 Arabs ; and whatever price might be paid for such a document its integrity could easily be destroyed by the Government itself, for in this twentieth century more than one European Power has with impunity broken its contractual pledges, and Turkey must also be reckoned among the civilized Powers. At the Zionist Congress in 1909 the President, Dr. Max Nordau, definitely relegated the charter idea to the archives of the movement, and although it may still have some sentimental adherents it has been finally eliminated from the official policy. The method pursued by the Zionist Organization is to convince the Ottoman Government of the loyalty of its aims and the utility of its labours by the most convincing of all arguments—by the nature of the work it has accomplished in promoting the economic and intellectual development of Palestine. Colonizing activity is the main factor in its diplomatic armoury, and its worth is bound to tell. Impoverished so gravely by the Balkan Wars, Turkey now, more than ever, needs a vitalizing stream of capital and labour for the restoration of her sunken fortunes, and when this capital and labour is reinforced by industry and thrift

and is innocent of affiliations with any alien Government she has every reason to welcome it not only with interest but with goodwill. Deprived of the greater portion of her European territory, she must concentrate her attention more seriously upon the development of her Asiatic possessions, and the generous and intelligent co-operation that she has been receiving for years in a part of these possessions must surely command her approval. Thirty years ago the Turkish Government received from the colony of *Petach Tikvah* an income tax of only 2000 francs a year : now it receives 200,000 francs a year. Figures such as these are but typical of the progress that the country has made in various directions under the beneficent stimulus of Jewish labour, and of which more than one Governor of Jerusalem has expressed his appreciation in flattering terms. That the Turkish Government has now disabused its mind of the baseless suspicion that Zionism is pursuing a separatist policy may be concluded from its official recognition of the *Jaffa Gymnasium* and its recent abolition of the "Red Ticket," the passport which restricted the sojourn of the foreign Jew in Palestine to three months; but not until it has reformed its obsolete land legislation and made it possible for the Zionist Organization to acquire land in its own name as well as to undertake important public improvements will the success of Jewish colonization be definitely assured. Self-interest, the most powerful motive in modern politics, must disclose to the Turkish Government the advantage and dictate the necessity of welcoming and encouraging an element that can be so helpful to itself. And the great Powers that have Jewish problems of their own, which they ineffectually try to solve by treating their Jews as pariahs or denying them the right of asylum, must also perceive that their task would be considerably alleviated by the creation of a large Jewish settlement that would automatically attract further Jews to its borders.

It has, indeed, been objected that the increased settlement of Jews in the country would be opposed by the Arabs, who might fear that they would be ousted from their homes. But such a fear is altogether groundless. Palestine, with

an intensive system of colonization such as is planned by Zionism, can support at least three and a half million inhabitants—five times the present number—so that there is absolutely no reason for a displacement of the native population. The friction so far has been insignificant, and it is hardly likely to increase, for the Jewish colonists have already displayed a prowess as horsemen and a courage in defending their property that command the silent respect of the Arabs. The colonists have trained and organized their own watchmen for the protection of their farms, and even Arab landlords have invoked their assistance in preference to the unreliable watchmen of a former generation. But the most powerful argument that counts with the Arabs, as with the Government, is the actual effect of the Jewish colonization. The Arab landlord has found that the price of his land has risen through the improvements that have been effected, and he has also benefited by the modern methods of cultivation brought to his knowledge; whilst the Arab peasant has obtained increased opportunity of employment. Both landowner and peasant, moreover, and all classes of the Arab population have benefited by the schools and sanitary improvements introduced by Jewish enterprise, and they must therefore see that their land will be made more productive, healthy, and habitable by the continued settlement of the Jews. These facts have been disguised by some Arabic newspapers, but they have already been acknowledged by several leading Arabs, and they are bound to penetrate sooner or later to the consciousness of the general population.

The future of the Zionist movement rests with the Jewish people. The progress of the colonization in Palestine, once it has attained to considerable dimensions, is bound to have an influence not only upon the Jews in the land itself but also upon those outside it. For the spectacle of the regeneration of a land that had lain waste for centuries, covered with flourishing and fertile colonies and with handsome and populous towns, in which trade and industry thrive, art and science are fostered, and

culture is advanced, must arouse a feeling of pride even in the indifferent Jew if he still have a spark of racial consciousness. And the knowledge that his people, oppressed for centuries and outlawed even at the present day, has succeeded in building up for itself a new home in which it enjoys peace and security, and which arouses the admiration even of strangers, must surely inspire him to create a permanent link with the new Judæa, either by sharing in the labours of the Renaissance, or by making periodical pilgrimages to its principal centres, and thus preserve him from absorption in his environment. The new Judæa cannot contain the whole of Jewry, nor will the whole of Jewry be willing to exchange the comforts and attractions of their Western homes for the simplicity of Palestine ; but upon the success of its development will depend the survival of the Jewry beyond its borders. For in the face of the countless forces of assimilation to which modern Jewry is now exposed, nothing can save it from slow and sure dissolution but the spiritual invigoration that it would receive from a national settlement. No Jew in the Western world need fear that he would then be taunted with a lack of patriotism towards the land of his birth, any more than the German who settles in England or the Italian who settles in America is upbraided with divided allegiance. The Christian world has never yet uttered a word of hostility against the realization of the Jewish national ideal ; on the contrary, it has manifested nought but sympathy and encouragement.

For nearly two thousand years Israel has been a wanderer over the face of the earth, driven from frontier to frontier and from shore to shore ; working in every land for its peace and advancement, yet doomed ever and again to suffering and shame ; but upborne through centuries of gloom by the undying hope in a return to Zion. At length the ancient dream, so often thought to be near to fulfilment, yet so often rudely shattered, is nearer to fulfilment than ever before. Never were the auspices so favourable, never the power of Israel for the attainment of his own national ideal so great as at the present day. Nought

but the will of Israel is needed to change the ancient ideal into a reality and to perpetuate his existence in the land of his birth.

The fate of the Jewish people lies in its own hands, and the sooner it chooses wisely the better for its own salvation.

APPENDIX I

STATISTICS OF THE WORLD'S JEWISH POPULATION

IT is impossible to ascertain the exact number of Jews in the world, as only in a comparatively few countries does the Government census take note of distinctions of religion. These countries are the Russian Empire, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Rumania, Bulgaria, Servia, Greece, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Luxemburg, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Ireland, Canada, Australasia, and India. As for the other countries, we have to depend either upon official estimates or upon estimates made by the local Jewish authorities. In the compilation of the following tables note has been taken of the statistics published in the latest editions of the *Jewish Year-Book*, the *American Jewish Year-Book*, the *Statesman's Year-Book*, and the *Gothaischer Hof-Kalender*, but in determining certain items the author has also used his own judgment and drawn upon private sources of information. An inevitable element of flux pertains to the statistics of Jewry owing to the ceaseless emigration from Eastern Europe and the parallel immigration mainly into the United States, Canada, England, and South Africa, so that the figures relating to these countries are bound to vary in some degree from year to year.

In the following table estimates are marked by an asterisk attached to the year, and in every case the estimates have been carefully based upon the latest available data. The figures of the general population are the results of the latest census, which is occasionally more recent than the corresponding estimate of the Jewish population.

EUROPE

Country.	Year of Census (or Estimate *).	Jewish Population.	Total Population.	Jewish Percentage of Total Population.
Russia in Europe :				
Russia	1905*	4,406,063 ¹	120,588,000	3'65
Poland	1908	1,716,064 ²	12,467,300	13'76
		6,122,127 ³	133,055,300	4'60
Austria-Hungary :				
Galicia	1910	871,906	8,029,387	10'85
Bukowina	1910	102,919	800,098	12'86
Rest of Austria . .	1910	338,862	19,742,449	1'71
Hungary	1910	932,416	20,886,787	4'40
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1910	12,169	1,928,833	0'64
		2,258,272	51,387,554	4'39
Germany	1910	615,029	64,925,993	0'95
United Kingdom . .	1914*	270,000 ⁴	45,370,530	0'59
Rumania	1914*	250,000 ⁵	7,661,660	3'28
Holland	1909	106,309	6,022,452	1'76
France	1911	100,000	39,601,509	0'25
Turkey	1914*	95,000 ⁶	1,891,100	5'02
Greece	1914*	90,000 ⁶	4,256,000	2'11
Bulgaria	1914*	50,000 ⁶	4,766,900	1'04
Italy	1911	43,924 ⁶	34,671,371	0'12
Switzerland	1910	19,023	3,741,971	0'51
Servia	1914*	16,000 ⁶	4,624,000	0'34
Belgium	1911*	15,000	7,490,411	0'20
Carry forward . .	..	10,050,684	..	..

* Estimate of Government Statistical Office (*Zeitschrift für Demographie u. Statistik d. Juden*, 1911, p. 119).

² Report of Warsaw Statistical Committee (*Zeitschrift f. Demog. u. Stat. d. Juden*, 1911, p. 88).

³ This estimate is arrived at by adding together the figures of the Jewish population in all the towns of the United Kingdom, as given in the *Jewish Year-Book* for 1914, multiplying the number of families (where the population is so stated) by 5, and assuming a minimum population of 30 for towns with a synagogue for which no figure is given. The Jewish population of London is estimated at 160,000 (the estimate of Joseph Jacobs for 1902 was 150,000, *Jewish Encyclopædia*, vol. viii. p. 174).

⁴ According to the last census in 1899 the Jews in Rumania numbered 266,652, but 55,000 emigrated in the period 1899-1905. It is probable that the population has since been brought up to 250,000 by natural increase.

⁵ Estimated after the territorial changes caused by the Balkan Wars.

⁶ Prof. Loevinson's estimate is 45,000. *Ost und West*, September 1912.

EUROPE—continued

Country.	Year of Census (or Estimate *).	Jewish Population.	Total Population.	Jewish Percentage of Total Population.
Brought forward .	..	10,050,684	..	..
Norway	1910	1,045	2,391,782	0'04
Sweden	1910	3,912	5,604,192	0'06
Denmark	1911	5,164	2,775,076	0'18
Luxemburg	1910	1,270	259,891	0'41
Spain	1910*	4,000	19,943,817	0'02
Portugal	1911*	1,000	5,957,985	0'01
Gibraltar	1913*	1,300	25,367	5'12
Malta	1913*	60	228,534	0'02
Total	..	10,068,435	..	..

ASIA

Russia in Asia :				
Caucasus	1905	65,888 ¹	12,037,200	0'54
Siberia	1905	40,443 ¹	8,719,200	0'46
Central Asia . . .	1905	14,305 ¹	10,107,300	0'14
		120,636	30,863,700	0'39
Bokhara	1905*	20,000 ²	1,500,000	1'33
Turkey in Asia :				
Asia Minor	1914*	60,000	10,940,765	0'54
Syria and Mesopotamia	1914*	100,000	3,000,000	3'33
Palestine	1914*	100,000	700,000	14'28
Arabia	1914*	30,000	1,050,000	2'85
Persia	1914*	40,000	9,500,000	0'42
Afghanistan	1913*	19,000	5,900,000	0'32
Aden	1913*	3,747	46,165	8'11
India	1911	20,980	315,132,537	0'01
Dutch East Indies . .	1905	8,605	38,000,000	0'02
China and Japan . .	1913*	2,000	364,601,269	..
Straits Settlements . .	1913*	535	700,000	0'07
Cyprus	1913*	155	275,000	0'05
Total	..	525,658	..	..

¹ Estimate of Russian Government Statistical Office (*Zeit. f. Demog. u. Stat. d. Juden*, 1911, p. 119).

² Elkan N. Adler, *Jews in Many Lands*, p. 221.

AFRICA

Country.	Year of Census (or Estimate *).	Jewish Population.	Total Population.	Jewish Percentage of Total Population.
Morocco . . .	1912*	109,712	7,000,000	1'56
Algeria . . .	1911	70,271 ¹	5,600,000	1'25
Tunis . . .	1911	65,213 ²	1,800,000	3'62
Tripoli . . .	1913*	19,000 ³	523,176	3'63
Egypt . . .	1913*	50,000	11,300,000	0'44
Abyssinia . . .	1911*	50,000 ⁴	7,000,000	0'71
East Africa . . .	1914*	50	..	..
South Africa . . .	1914*	50,000	6,000,000	0'83
Total . . .	..	414,246	..	..

AMERICA

United States . . .	1913*	2,300,000 ⁵	91,972,266	2'50
Canada . . .	1911	75,681	7,204,838	1'05
Argentina . . .	1914*	100,000 ⁶	8,000,000	1'25
Mexico . . .	1911	8,972	15,063,207	0'06
Cuba . . .	1910*	4,000	2,220,278	0'18
Brazil . . .	1900	3,000	17,318,556	0'02
Dutch Guiana :				
Surinam . . .	1910	933	86,233	1'08
Curaçao . . .	1910	670	54,469	1'23
Jamaica . . .	1911	984	831,383	0'12
Panama . . .	1913	505	426,928	0'11
Peru . . .	1896	499	4,609,999	0'01
Venezuela . . .	1894	411	2,743,841	0'01
Uruguay . . .	1910	150	1,177,560	0'01
Total . . .	..	2,495,805	..	..

¹ *Annuaire Statistique de la France*, 1911.

² *Gothaischer Hof-Kalender*, 1911.

³ *Ost und West*, June 1912 (Article by Prof. Loevinson).

⁴ Dr. J. Faitlovitch, *Quer durch Abessinien*, p. 173.

⁵ The Jewish population of the United States was estimated by the *American Jewish Year-Book* in 1910 at 2,043,762 (an increase of 266,577 upon the number in 1907). In the three years 1910-13 there was a net addition of 252,632 Jews by immigration, and as any diminution of this number by death must be considerably less than the natural increase of the previous population, it is safe to assume a present population of about 2,300,000.

⁶ *Jewish Chronicle*, 29th May 1914 (40,000 Jews are in country districts, 40,000 in the capital, and over 20,000 in other cities).

AUSTRALASIA

Country.	Year of Census.	Jewish Population.	Total Population.	Jewish Percent- age of Total Popula- tion.
Australia . . .	1911	17,287	5,000,000	0.34
New Zealand . . .	1911	2,128	1,100,000	0.20
Total . . .	..	19,415	..	..

SUMMARY

Jews in Europe . . .	10,068,435
" Asia . . .	525,658
" Africa . . .	414,246
" America . . .	2,495,805
" Australasia . . .	19,415
Grand total . . .	<u>13,523,559</u> ¹

¹ The discrepancy between this grand total and that given in the diagram at the end of the book is due to the latter having been prepared before the publication of the latest estimate of the Jews in the Argentine.

SOME PREVIOUS ESTIMATES OF THE WORLD'S JEWISH POPULATION

Authority.	Time.	Estimated Number.
Balbi . . .	1829 . . .	4,000,000
Jost . . .	1846 . . .	3,143,000
Legoyt . . .	1868 . . .	4,550,000
I. Loeb . . .	1879 . . .	6,276,957
Andree . . .	1881 . . .	6,193,662
<i>Ency. Brit.</i> . . .	1881 . . .	6,200,000
A. Nossig . . .	1887 . . .	6,582,500
J. Jacobs . . .	1896 . . .	9,066,534
I. Harris . . .	1902 . . .	10,319,402
A. Ruppin . . .	1904 . . .	10,456,000
<i>Jew Encyc.</i> . . .	1905 . . .	11,273,076
A. Ruppin . . .	1911 . . .	11,558,610
I. Harris . . .	1913 . . .	12,134,179

APPENDIX II

IMMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA

(4) JEWISH IMMIGRANTS AND TOTAL NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
1880-1913

Fiscal Year, July 1- June 30.	Total Immigrants.	Jewish Immigrants.	Percent- age of Total.
1880-81	669,431	8,193	1'2
1881-82	788,992	31,807	4'2
1882-83	603,322	6,907	1'2
1883-84	518,592	27,410	5'3
1884-85	395,346	36,214	9'0
1885-86	334,203	46,967	14'0
1886-87	490,109	56,412	11'5
1887-88	546,889	62,619	11'5
1888-89	444,427	55,851	12'6
1889-90	455,302	67,450	14'8
1890-91	560,319	111,284	20'0
1891-92	579,663	136,742	23'6
1892-93	439,730	68,569	15'5
1893-94	285,631	58,833	20'4
1894-95	258,536	65,309	26'1
1895-96	343,267	73,255	21'4
1896-97	230,832	43,434	18'0
1897-98	229,299	54,630	24'0
1898-99	311,715	37,415	12'0
1899-00	448,572	60,764	13'5
1900-01	487,918	58,098	12'5
1901-02	648,743	57,688	8'7
1902-03	857,046	76,203	8'8
1903-04	812,870	106,236	13'0
1904-05	1,026,499	129,910	12'6
1905-06	1,100,735	153,748	14'0
1906-07	1,285,349	149,182	11'6
1907-08	782,870	103,387	16'6
1908-09	751,786	57,551	7'7
1909-10	1,041,570	84,260	8'0
1910-11	878,587	91,223	10'3
1911-12	838,172	80,595	9'6
1912-13	1,197,892	101,330	8'4
Total	20,644,214	2,359,476	11'4

(B) NET INCREASE THROUGH IMMIGRATION TO THE
UNITED STATES, 1908-13

Fiscal Year, July 1- June 30.	Number Admitted.		Number Departed.		Net Increase.	
	Jews.	Total.	Jews.	Total.	Jews.	Total.
1907-08	103,387	782,870	7,702	395,073	95,685	387,797
1908-09	57,551	751,786	6,105	225,802	51,446	525,984
1909-10	84,260	1,041,570	5,689	202,436	78,571	839,134
1910-11	91,223	878,587	6,401	295,266	84,822	582,921
1911-12	80,595	838,172	7,418	333,262	73,177	504,910
1912-13	101,330	1,197,892	6,697	308,190	94,633	889,702
Total	518,346	5,490,877	40,012	1,760,429	478,334	3,730,448

(C) IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

Year. ¹	Jewish Immigrants.	Total Continental Immigrants, etc. ²	All Immigrants.
1901	2,765	19,352	49,149
1902	1,015	23,732	67,379
1903	2,066	37,099	128,364
1904	3,727	34,786	130,331
1905	7,715	37,364	146,266
1906	7,127	44,472	189,064
1907 ³	6,584	34,217	124,667
1908	7,712	83,975	262,469
1909	1,636	34,175	146,908
1910	3,182	45,206	208,794
1911	5,146	66,620	311,084
1912	5,322	82,406	354,237
1913	7,387	112,881	402,432
Total	61,384	656,285	2,521,144

¹ Fiscal year ended 30th June for 1900-06, thereafter 31st March.² Excluding immigration from the United States and United Kingdom.³ Nine months ended 31st March.

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